BATTLE OF INKERMANN.

A HISTORY

OF THE

RUSSIAN WAR.

Storming of the Malakoff.

HALIFAX.

MILNER & SOWERBY.

A HISTORY

OF

THE RUSSIAN WAR,

FROM

ITS COMMENCEMENT IN 1853

UNTIL

THE PEACE OF PARIS, IN 1856.

COMPILED AND ARRANGED

FROM

THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

HALIFAX:

MILLER AND SOWERBY;

1860.

LP
DK214
H5

PREFACE.

THE war with Russia, which has now closed, may be designated as a short, sharp, and decisive one: it has been begun, continued, and concluded within little more than two years; and there are those who refuse to class it among the great wars of Europe. But when we take into consideration the magnitude of the operations, and the vast amount of the forces engaged—the distance to which these had to be transported—the fearful catalogue of victims, and the heavy cost in money—when we reflect upon all these, we are compelled to acknowledge that we have been living in a fearful struggle.

The compilation of this work has been undertaken with a view to place before the reader something like a comprehensive sketch of the contest, from its commencement to its close: thus enabling the reader to exercise his own judgment in deciding where to blame and where to approve. Narratives of war and bloodshed are no pleasing themes to dilate upon; but we imagine there are few Englishmen who can coldly and stoically peruse the heroic deeds of their fellow-countrymen, and refuse to pay the tribute of praise to those who are contending in a just and necessary conflict.

This work embraces the whole struggle, from its origin to its termination; and the principal events connected with it have been elaborately pourtrayed. Almost every minor event has been touched upon; and, when the extent of country to which operations have been directed, and the descriptions given of those places, are taken into account,

853087

the work will be found to contain geographical knowledge of some value. In short, the Compiler ventures to assert, that the work will be found suitable to all classes of readers; and from the large quantity of exciting and interesting matter which it contains, he hesitates not to say that it will be found equal, if not superior, to any work of the kind. That the time may be long, ere his or any other pen shall be employed in describing the conflicts of another European war, is the sincere wish of

THE COMPILER.

Halifax, June, 1856.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the War—Menschikoff—Gortschakoff—Omar Pasha 9

CHAPTER II.

Danubian Principalities—Hostilities commenced by the Turks and Russians on the Danube—Turkish Forces—Battles of Oltenitza, Citale, Kalafat, Giurgevo—Siege of Silistria 28

CHAPTER III.

The Western Alliance—Diplomacy—The "Vienna Note"—Threatening Aspect—The Slaughter at Sinope—Russian Justification of the Slaughter—Renewed Efforts to preserve Peace—Secret Correspondence—Declaration of War—Character of the War—Neutrality of Austria and Prussia—Colonial Sympathy 57

CHAPTER IV.

Preliminary Operations—Embarkation of English and French Troops and Material to the East—Strategy and Instructions of the French Emperor—Malta—Gallipoli—Scutari—Constantinople—Varna—Operations on the Black Sea—Bombardment of Odessa. 74

CHAPTER V.

The Caucasians and Circassians—Schamyl, the Prophet Warrior—Erzeroum—Trebisond—Kars—Asiatic Campaign—Intrigues in the North-west of Turkey—Greek Attacks on the Borders of Turkey 117

PAGE

CHAPTER VI.

The Baltic Sea—Sir C. Napier—The Allied Fleets in the Baltic—Operations in the Baltic—Cronstadt—Bombardment and Capture of Bomarsund—The Pacific and White Sea. 150

CHAPTER VII.

The Crimea—Arrival of the Allies in the Crimea—Battle of the Alma—The Flank March—Death of Marshal St. Arnaud. 196

CHAPTER VIII.

Manœuvres of the Fleets—Bombardment of Sebastopol—Battle of Balaklava—The Two Battles of Inkermann—Storm in the Crimea, &c. 218

CHAPTER IX.

Winter Life in the Crimea—Dreadful sufferings of the British—Sick and Wounded—Miss Nightingale and the Hospital Nurses at Scutari—British Sympathy and Philanthropy—Balaklava Railway—Operations at Eupatoria—Siege of Sebastopol. 316

CHAPTER X.

Fruitless Negotiations—Death of the Emperor Nicholas—Vienna Conference—Progress of the Siege in 1855. 340

CHAPTER XI.

Death of Lord Raglan—Sir James Simpson appointed Commander of the British Forces—Battle of the Tchernaya—Bombardment and Fall of Sebastopol. 371

CHAPTER XII.

The Baltic Fleet—Operations in the Baltic—The Hango Massacre—The Fleet before Cronstadt—Bombardment of Sveaborg—The War in Asia—Capitulation of Kars—Summary 393

CHAPTER XIII.

Official Text of the Treaty of Peace—The Conventions—The Protocols—Conclusion. 419

PAGE

ts in
dt—
Pa-
..... 150

Bat-
Mar-
..... 196

asto-
nker-
..... 218

of the
s and
pathy
ations
..... 316

Ticho-
ge in
..... 346

inted
f the
topol. 371

Han-
Bom-
tula-
..... 393

tions
..... 419

A HISTORY

OF

THE RUSSIAN WAR.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the War—Menschikoff—Gortchakoff—Omar Pasha.

The writer of European history, in narrating the events occurring between the years 1815 and 1853, has been spared the painful task of recording the devastating effects which attend upon the battle field. About the middle of the former year a great battle was fought on the plains of Waterloo, and was followed by a peace which had continued uninterrupted until the commencement of the year 1854. Although, in the years 1848-9 there occurred in many parts of Europe severe struggles betwixt the governers and the governed,—and thrones and potentates tottered and fell,—yet those struggles were confined to each separate nation, and each was allowed to settle the difference without foreign interference and foreign aid. During the latter part of the year 1853, however, the peaceful horizon of Europe became overclouded, and the minds of many were uneasy at the aspect presented in the aggressive policy pursued by Russia towards her weak neighbour, the Ottoman empire.

Prior to the commencement of the last century, down even to the present time, the policy pursued by Russia has been signally marked by that of aggression. Peter the Great, who ascended the throne of Russia in 1689, was animated with unbounded ambition, and with a determination to extend the boundaries of his country on every hand. He assumed the title of "Emperor of all the Russias!" and, with an earnestness that would have been praiseworthy in a better cause, he persevered in the accomplishment of this his darling object. Surrounded by a race of rude Sclavonians, he aspired to be considered as a reformer of manners; and, although he had many faults, yet he merits the title of one of the greatest men of his age and country. It is not, however, our intention to expatiate on the history of Peter I. Suffice it to say, that he at that early period had designs of encroaching on the Ottoman empire, and carried out those designs by seizing a portion of its territories; although these territories were afterwards reconquered by the Turks. In 1717 Peter sent a distinguished personage to Khiva, eastward of the Caspian, apparently on a friendly mission, but with secret instructions to seize upon certain gold mines which he believed existed there; but his treachery was defeated by the cunning of the Khivians, who put to death all the members of his embassy. His next attempt, which was on the territories of Persia, was not more successful; although he had at one time gained possession of four provinces in that country, yet the terrible Nadir, who assumed the title of Shah of Persia, soon compelled Peter to relinquish his newly-gained possessions. Peter died in 1725, and was succeeded by his widow, Catherine, who was originally a peasant girl.

Catherine I. reigned but two years, and was succeeded by the notorious Catherine II. This empress reigned 34 years; and, if we may credit history, she exhibited traits of character throughout her long reign at variance with those we generally expect to find in the

female sex. During the short reign of her predecessor, the Ossetians, a pagan tribe in the Caucasian mountains, had become tributary to Russia; but the cruel tyranny of Catherine II. over the tribes near the Caucasus was such, that the Circassians sought refuge in the nearly inaccessible fastnesses of their mountains; the Nogays looked for shelter and safety under the Khan of the Crimea—then an independent Tartar state; the Kabardans of Circassia forsook Christianity for Islam, preferring the Turkish to Russian rule; and the Kalmucs took the astonishing resolution, in 1771, of removing in a body to their original territory in Chinese Tartary. Nothing, perhaps, is recorded in history more wonderful than this voluntary journey of 500,000 human beings to a distance of 2,000 miles, as the means of fleeing from Russian despotism. At a later period disturbances broke out in Georgia—a fruitful country southward of the Caucasus, between the Black and Caspian Seas—Persia and Turkey struggling for its possession, when Russia stepped in, offering to assist the one in opposition to the other, and, eventually, took Georgia to herself as the reward of her good intentions.

During these transactions in Asia, Catherine was not lukewarm in her designs on other portions of Europe. Poland had become disturbed on account of differences regarding the succession to the crown, when Catherine managed to place one of her dependents on the throne; at the same time scattering her agents all over that unhappy country. Turkey at length became alarmed at the aggressive spirit which animated the Empress, for the acquisition of Poland would place Russia too near the Ottoman territories; and the sultan, having received many insults and injuries from Russia, declared war against that power in 1769. England took part with Russia, and sent a fleet to assist her against Turkey; and the results were so disastrous to the Ottoman army, that Turkey was compelled to submit to several humbling concessions, con-

tained in the treaty of Kainardji. By this treaty Russia obtained the free navigation of the Black Sea, the passage of the Dardanelles, the privilege of having one ship of war in those quarters, and the possession of Azof, Taganrog, Kertch, and Kinburn; she also acquired the extension of her frontier to the river Bug or Boug; assumed the sovereignty of Kabarda, near the Caucasus, and obtained the relinquishment by Turkey of suzerain power over the Khan of the Crimea—a stroke of policy which Russia took good care afterward to turn to her own advantage. In the year 1776 she constructed a line of posts, embracing nearly thirty fortresses, from the Black Sea to the Caspian. Some few years later, the Christian princes of Georgia, Imetria, and Mingrelia—all on the southern base of the Caucasus—wrought upon by Russian gifts or overawed by Russian threats, relinquished their allegiance to Turkey, and became subject to the Russian yoke; so also did several petty chiefs in the principalities in the Persian dominions.

By the Treaty of Kainardji the Crimea had become independent of Turkey; and in a short time Catherine began to manifest her *protection* over the Khan in that extraordinary way which we may expect the wolf to exhibit when pretending to protect the lamb. It became evident at this time that Russia had designs of obtaining possession of Constantinople, and war was again begun betwixt Turkey and Russia. Potemkin and Suvaroff spread their forces through the Caucasian region; and other armies, under the pretence of *protecting* the Khan against the Turks, forcibly took possession of the Crimea, deposed the Khan, and put to death all the Tartar nobles who endeavoured to support the independence of their sea-girt peninsula. About this time Russia offered her *protection* to the voyvodes or princes of Moldavia and Wallachia, and so managed matters as to induce them to look up to her, rather than to the sultan, as a suzerain; the Christians in Servia and Bulgaria were

likewise encouraged to revolt, and claim her protection at what times they pleased, against the sultan, —all in defiance of any previously existing treaties. The seizure and slaughter in the Crimea took place in 1783; but before this there had been a treaty, signed at Constantinople in 1779, consisting of a few clauses, but it had little effect in settling the relations between the two countries. There was a commercial treaty made between Turkey and Russia in 1783; but Catherine took care not to declare her intention to seize the Crimea until after this treaty was signed. The city of Kherson was built at the mouth of the Dnieper, close upon the Turkish frontier; and in 1783 Catherine made her public entry into the city, passing under a triumphal arch, on which was inscribed in Greek characters—"*The way to Byzantium.*" The war was again renewed between Russia and Turkey; and the struggle was again unsuccessful on the part of Turkey, which was forced to sacrifice the territory between the rivers Bug and Dniester; to give up all control over Georgia and the adjacent provinces, and to allow Russia a certain claim to influence in other parts, without actual sovereignty.

While grasping these portions of territory in the South, Catherine was successfully pursuing the same policy in her empire toward the West. Poland's first dismemberment took place in 1772. It is firmly believed that Prussia was the first instigator of this nefarious project; and that a slice was presented to Austria as a bribe to gain her consent to the act of spoliation. According to the treaty of St. Petersburg, signed Aug. 5, 1772, Russia grasped Polotsk, Vitepsk, Mistislaf, and Polish Livonia; Prussia seized Malborg, Pomerania, Varmia, and parts of Culm and Great Poland; Austria helped herself to Galicia, with portions of Podolia and Sandomir; while poor Poland had to make as well as she could with what was left to her. Russia gained by the transaction 3440 leagues of territory, and 1,500,000 inhabitants. If Prussia was

foremost in devising this first spoliation, Russia took good care to be the foremost in dictating those which followed. Unhappy Poland—exhausted alike by internal dissensions, external attacks, and foreign bribery—was doomed to become the prey of grasping despots; and, in 1793, the second partition was perpetrated, by which the Russian boundary was extended to the centre of Lithuania and Volhynia; while Prussia received the remainder of Great Poland and a part of Little Poland. Austria not having any share in this second spoliation. Poland had now dwindled down to about 4000 square miles. The noble and patriotic attempt of the brave Kosciusko to regain the liberties of his suffering country was unsuccessful, and brought on the third partition, in 1795, which erased Poland from the list of nations. Austria got Cracow and the country between the Pilitza, the Vistula, and the Bug; Prussia appropriated the country as far as the Niemen; while Russia absorbed all the rest.

Paul and Alexander, during their reigns, followed the policy of their predecessors; and from 1796 to 1825 gained a larger accession of territory from Persia than from Turkey. Paul appears to have inherited from Catherine two great desires—one for a road to India through Persia, and the other a path to Constantinople through the Danubian principalities. During the first quarter of the present century there were several struggles between Russia and Persia, which generally resulted in loss of territory on the part of the latter, and consequent gain to the former. Georgia was annexed in 1800; Mingrelia and Imetria, in 1802; Sheki, in 1805; and various other parts, in 1812 and 1814. Turkey enjoyed a few years of apparent peace after the death of Catherine; but the plots and dissensions which incessantly occurred in Moldavia, Wallachia and Servia, became so intolerable, that the sultan declared war against Russia in 1806. In 1804, during the complexity of European politics, Turkey narrowly escaped a snare. A friendly alliance was

just on the point of being cemented between Turkey and Russia; but the Sultan Selim looking cautiously at the clauses, luckily found one by which Alexander claimed, as part of the price of Russian friendliness, that all the subjects of the Porte professing the Greek religion should be placed under the immediate protection of Russia. The sultan refused to agree to this, and war was the consequence. Turkey was ill prepared for war; many of the rulers who were tributary to the sultan held aloof from assisting him, and several years were spent in war, which eventually terminated in the Treaty of Bucharest in 1812, by which the czar obtained Bessarabia, extending the Russian frontier westward from the Dniester to the Pruth,—securing the navigation of the Danube to merchantships—and obtaining for his ships of war a right to ascend the Pruth up to its junction with the Danube. Alexander also succeeded in procuring an amnesty for the rebellious Servians who had aided him against Turkey; and stipulated for the demolition of the fortresses recently erected by the Turks in Servia. Thus was Turkey again humbled and despoiled by her overbearing and powerful neighbour.

Sweden was next singled out as a fit object for the northern autocrat to pounce upon. Under the pretence that this state had refused to close her ports against England, during a disagreement betwixt Russia and Great Britain, Alexander suddenly despatched an army to Finland before war had been declared; and when Sweden thereupon declared war, two years were spent in hostilities, which ended with the treaty of Friedrichsham, in 1809. Sweden, by this treaty, surrendered Finland, the whole of East Bothnia, and part of West Bothnia. With her most fertile provinces, she lost more than one fourth of her inhabitants. These proceedings were contrary to the principles of justice and equity. Alexander invaded a neighbour's country without declaring war; and when the injured monarch resisted the encroach-

ment, he was punished for his resistance by a great loss of his possessions.

The congress of Vienna, in 1815, settled the affairs of Europe, without interfering at all in the vast territories which Russia had grasped from Poland, Sweden, Turkey, and Persia; and she was left to govern those possessions as she thought proper. In 1825 Nicholas succeeded Alexander as Emperor of all the Russias; and he soon gave striking evidence that he was not inferior to any of his predecessors in his desire to extend the boundaries of Russia whenever and wherever he saw the least chance of success. Secret agents were spread through most of the neighbouring states, whose chief object appeared to be, to foment disturbances, and then Russia would offer her aid to either party, and thus further the object she had in view, by being well paid for her protection either in money or territory. She fomented disturbances in Greece, and offered her military aid to Turkey, to quell the disturbances; but when this was refused, Nicholas pretended to be offended. In July, 1827, England and France, induced probably by solicitude in behalf of Christian interests in Turkey, signed, with Russia, the Treaty of London, binding all three to insure a settlement of the Greek affairs in Turkey. A short time afterwards, Russia signed the convention of Akermann, with Turkey, in which Russia pledged herself to a certain course which could not by any means be in agreement with the Treaty of London. The battle of Navarino; the destruction of the Turkish navy; the compelled acknowledgment of the independence of Greece—all were additions of strength to the czar; and when after two campaigns in 1828-9, the Treaty of Adrianople was signed, Turkey was compelled to yield Anapa and Poti, with a large extent of coast on the Black Sea—a part of the pachalik of Akhilska, the two fortresses of Akhilska and Akhilkillak—and the virtual possession of the islands formed by the mouths of the Danube. Nor was this the whole. Certain Turkish fortresses were

be abandoned; Moldavia and Wallachia were to be verned according to arrangements which Russia had troduced when she *protected* them; immunities were be granted to Russian subjects in Turkey; an im-nse sum of money was to be paid to Russia for her penses in the war—the czar holding possession of Principalities and Silistria, until the money was d. The Treaty of Turcomanchai, at this time, gave Russia immense advantages in Persia, being the mmand over the Caspian Sea and the Caucasian vinces.

Mehemet Ali, the Pacha of Egypt, raised a serious olt against the sultan; and the latter was so unwise o accept Russian aid to subdue it. This was evi-tly a rash step, for when the Treaty of Unkiar-lessi was framed, a secret article was inserted, ulating that Russia would forego the debt from the war, if Turkey would close the Dardanelles against vessels of war whatever, *except those of Russia.*

The position of Russia now became extremely menac-; and the other states began to be alarmed. They not pay much regard to the treaty which prevent-any Mohammedan from living in Moldavia and llachia, or any Turkish army from been stationed hose countries; nor had they much anxiety in re-d to the Treaty of St. Petersburg in 1834, which reased the power of Russia in Asia Minor; but the ing of the Dardanelles was a serious matter; and y became alarmed. Therefore, after much conten-n, an agreement was signed in London, in 1841, ween Turkey, Russia, Austria, England, and France, t the Dardanelles should be closed to *all* ships of r, so long as Turkey should remain at peace; and t Turkey should be allowed to solicit the naval aid ny of the five, in case of attack from any of the ers. This agreement, as will be afterwards per-ved, had an important influence on England and nce in 1853.

We have thus briefly glanced at the policy which

Russia has pursued for a series of years; and we hesitate not to say, that every one who has any regard for equity and justice, must condemn that policy. Aggression appears to have been the ruling passion of every governor of that colossal empire. In the year 1772, the population of Russia was 14,000,000; in 1850, is was 65,000,000! Sir John M'Neill, in his "Progress and Present Position of Russia in the East," thus sums up the increase in her territory:—"The acquisitions she has made from Sweden are greater than what remain of that kingdom; her acquisitions from Poland are as large as the whole Austrian Empire; the territory she has wrested from Turkey in Europe is equal to the dominions of Prussia, exclusive of her Rhenish provinces; her acquisitions from Turkey in Asia are equal in extent to all the smaller states of Germany, the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, Belgium, and Holland, taken together; the country she has conquered from Persia is about the size of England; and her acquisitions in Tartary have an equal area to Turkey in Europe, Greece, Italy, and Spain."

Nicholas I. now determined to have the last clutch of what remained of Turkey in Europe; and an excuse for this was not long wanting.

THE HOLY PLACES A BONE OF CONTENTION.

The Holy Places are those in and around Jerusalem, where the principal events of the life and death of our Saviour are said to have taken place. These are the Holy Sepulchre where the body of our Saviour is supposed to have been laid, the stone of unction, the grotto of the cross, the chapel of the Virgin, the cemetery of Mount Zion, the tomb of the Holy Virgin, the grotto of Gethsemane, the grotto of the manger at Bethlehem, Mount Calvary, and several others. In almost all ages since the separation of the Greek Church from that of Rome, which took place in 1054,

he squabbles, scrambles, and contentions for the pos-
ession of those places by different classes of Christians,
reeks, Latins, Armenians, Abyssinians, Syrians,
aronites, Cophtites, &c. have been frequent, and
andalous; ending in some instances in the shedding
blood. The great object of contest, however, is the
hurch of the Holy Sepulchre; and the rival claimants
e the Christians of the Greek and Latin Churches.
uring the contentions of the Christians, Jerusalem
s conquered by the Turks in 1076, and this was a
nal for all Europe to despatch its troops to free the
oly Sepulchre from the Infidels. Hence arose the
lebrated Crusades, which sent such myriads of peo-
of the Western nations to the Holy Land, many
them to perish miserably by the way. In 1049 the
ropean kings took Jerusalem, and retained it for
years, founding a Latin kingdom there, which had
e successive kings. Then it was taken by the fam-
Saladin, king of Eypt and Syria, in 1187, and again
retaken by the Turks in 1217, who have retained
ver since. But though in the possession of the
homedans, it has never ceased to be visited by
rms of Christian devotees, supposed to amount con-
tly in Jerusalem to twice the number of its inhabi-
s.

he Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which is the
nd resort of pilgrims, is a large structure, at the
of which is a superb rotunda and cupola, without
other light than what comes from the top; and
ctly under this opening is the Holy Sepulchre,
ed in a small chapel, having three openings in the
to let out the smoke of the hundreds of lamps
ch are kept lighted. This church of the Holy
ulchre was originally built by the Empress Helena,
mother of Constantine, in the fourth century, but
as burnt down in 1808. It is pretended by the
ks to include the places not only where Christ
crucified, but where he was buried, that is, not
Mount Calvary, but the garden of Joseph of Ari-

mathea. It would take long to relate all the troubles which the quarrels and conflicts of the Christians have given the Sultan, and the number of *firmans* and *hatti-sherifs* which he has been, from time to time, compelled to issue to attempt to make peace amongst them, and to direct which party should have the keys of those holy places. The scandalous contentions of the Greeks and Latins were such as to destroy all respect for Christianity in the East, and within the last century France has put herself forward as the champion of the Latin or Catholic Christians, and Russia as that of the Greek Christians.

As the Russian power in the East has advanced, these contentions have grown still more violent, and the preponderance has been given to the Greek Church in power and prestige. From 1850 to 1853 the disputes between Russia and France raged incessantly, and the Sultan was placed in the most tantalising difficulty between those powers. In vain he attempted to arrange the disputes between them; if he conferred the privileges which the Latins enjoyed in 1740, their most palmy season, the Russians were violently indignant on account of the Greeks; if he endeavoured to modify that ascendancy, the French were as irate on behalf of the Latins. The English ambassador remained neutral, offering his services to mediate between the contending parties. In vain, there were motives behind which admitted no pacification. Russia was resolved to pick a quarrel, and the Holy Places were the pretence. In the beginning of the year 1853, the great struggle came to a crisis. Prince Menschikoff appeared on the scene, delegated by the Czar as his plenipotentiary, with extraordinary power to settle or unsettle the matter altogether.

This man, who appeared to have been selected especially for his overbearing haughtiness and insolence, was descended from Peter the Great's favourite, a pastry-cook in the streets of Moscow, whom Peter, amongst his many whims, made a prince and com-

panion of. Menschikoff, with all the arrogance of an upstart, very quickly brought matters to a rupture. He made the most imperious demands, used the most peremptory language to the Sultan and the Grand Vizier, insulted the minister for foreign affairs, Fuad Effendi, in the grossest manner, so as to cause his resignation. Notwithstanding all this, so temperate and conceding was the Sultan, that the disputes respecting the Holy Places were actually brought to a close; Turkey appeared to have given entire satisfaction, and on the 5th of May appeared the firman which completely settled the question.

But this settlement was precisely what Russia did not want. She was disappointed, instead of pleased; and, therefore, to the astonishment of all parties, on the very same day that the firman terminating the dispute about the Holy Places appeared, the haughty Menschikoff suddenly shifted his ground, took up another cause of quarrel, and sent an official note to Rifat Pacha, the foreign minister, demanding that the protectorate over the Sultan's Greek subjects, 12,000,000 in number, should be vested at once and completely in the Emperor of Russia; or, in other words, that the Czar should be made as much sovereign in Turkey as the Sultan himself!

It was now evident that Russia was determined to pick a quarrel with Turkey, and was about to unmask herself. Menschikoff's conduct since his arrival had been extremely arrogant and overbearing; and he had endeavoured to entrap the Turkish government into a secret treaty with Russia, and requested the ministers to promise not to reveal to the English or French ambassadors what was the nature of it. The ministers very properly refused to comply with this request. It very shortly became known that the object of the protectorate before spoken of, with a promise of despatch to Turkey 400,000 troops in case of a breach with the Allies. Menschikoff, who was himself extremely pressing, received on the 13th of April a letter

, on the Czar to quicken his movements, and ordering him to demand a peremptory assent to all the czar's requirements.

During the whole of these proceedings Russia was pouring down troops towards the Turkish frontiers, and increasing its navy in the Black Sea. And all this time, too, it was declaring, in answer to the inquiries of the British government, both at St. Petersburg and Constantinople, that nothing offensive was intended, and that Russia was desirous of maintaining peace. On the 5th of May the Sultan issued his firman, settling the dispute much in favour of the Greek Christians; on the same day Menschikoff sent in his peremptory note, opening his sudden and fresh quarrel about the protectorate of the Greek Christians in Turkey; and on the 21st of the same month, the Sultan, after consulting with the ambassadors of England and France, declined to comply. Menschikoff hereupon quitted Constantinople in a haughty manner; the Imperial arms were pulled down from the Russian embassy, and war was inevitable. It was intimated to the Porte that Prince Menschikoff would remain a short time at Odessa, and that if, within a week, a note, complying with the demands of the czar, was received, a rupture with Russia might still be avoided. The note was not sent—the die was cast—war began.

As we have said, through all these negotiations, and while the Russian Czar was protesting that he had no intentions whatever to disturb the peace of Europe, he was filling all the provinces bordering on Turkey with troops. All the neighbouring provinces of Russia were alive with soldiers, who descended the Don, the Dnieper, and Dniester, concentrating [illegible] towards the Pruth, the boundary between [illegible] and Turkish Moldavia. On the 2nd of July, the Russians committed the actual aggression and deed of war by crossing the Pruth with a large force, provided with twenty-two pieces of cannon of heavy calibre.

When it became known at Constantinople that the

Russians had crossed the Pruth, the news caused great excitement. The two ministers, Redchid Pacha and Mustapha Pacha, who had been all along endeavouring to bring about a peaceful result by negotiation, became very unpopular, and their dismissal was urged upon the Sultan, who was prevented from doing so by the energetic expostulations of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. On the 14th of July the Porte issued a formal protest against the invasion of the Principalities, viewing that step as a virtual declaration of war. The war party in the Divan, or Grand Council at Constantinople, at whose head was Mehemet Ali, the seraskier, were anxious to hurry matters to a crisis, against the wishes of Redchid Pacha and the peace party.

Matters were in a very critical state at this time in Constantinople; great excitement prevailed on every hand. The Sultan, who, from all accounts, is very unlike what one might conceive of the characteristics of a Turk, was forced on, apparently much against his will. He appears a quiet, indolent, well-meaning man, who would prefer allowing the world to go on smoothly, without much interference on his part. However, he had previously called upon the Pacha of Egypt for his contingent of troops, and these troops arrived at Constantinople in the middle of July, to the number of 12,000. Turcoman chiefs had also arrived, offering the aid of their lawless tribes to assist in the defence of Islam. Daily there were vast assemblages in the streets of Constantinople, and the public feeling rose so high, that the Sultan became alarmed, and solicited the English and French ambassadors to send for two or three of their ships, which were stationed at a short distance southward of the Dardanelles. This was done; and soon the novel spectacle of six war-frigates, three French, and three English, was presented to the warlike subjects of an unwarlike Sultan.

Early in September a levy of 80,000 was made, and troops were gradually concentrated in and around Constantinople.

On the 4th of October, the Sultan issued a manifesto; and on the following day the declaration of war against Russia was published in Constantinople. In this document, all the principal points of the quarrel are enumerated—the desire of Turkey to remain at peace; the demands of Russia concerning the Holy Places; the arrogant tone in which these demands were made; the founding of fresh claims regarding the Greek Church, after the question of the Holy Places had been apparently settled; the seizure of the principalities as a "material guarantee;" the "Vienna Note," and its conditions; the evident desire of Russia that the terms of that note should be left vague, in order that she might interpret them as she pleased; and the necessity thence arising that Turkey should repel aggression by force of arms.

We have before stated that the Russians crossed the Pruth on the 2nd of July, with a large force, numbering 74,000 men, and 72 pieces of cannon. This army was under the direction of Prince Gortchakoff, as commander-in-chief, who, so soon as he had established himself and his troops in their various positions, issued a specious and deceptive proclamation to the inhabitants. This document was characteristic of the usual policy pursued by Muscovite officials in their predatory expeditions. Its predominant tone and spirit was couched in ambiguous language; promising great things to the inhabitants if they would permit themselves to be *protected* by their kind and affectionate friend the Czar. It was apparent that secret agency had been at work some time before the Russians entered the Principalities, for Prince Ghika was very lukewarm in his attachment to the Sultan; and when Gortchakoff made a journey of 160 miles from Jassy to Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia, he was received by a deputation of bishops and nobles with obsequiousness and adulation. Whatever might have been the opinion of the masses, the higher orders appear to have been wrought upon by some influence which affected them very much in favour of their invaders.

A rough estimate of the strength of the Ottoman
ny has been made on paper, which has been divided
the following different corps:—The Nizam,
,000; the Redif, 150,000; Auxiliaries, 120,000;
egulars, 90,000; Constabulary, 30,000; Total,
,000. But this, like many other armies on paper,
far above its actual numbers: the sultan would
it as difficult in raising and supporting an army
00,000, as the Emperor of Russia would in raising
maintaining a force of 1,000,000—and probably
e. The number of troops under the Ottoman
y at this time did not most likely reach more than
000. The Nizam is the regular army, and the men
engaged for five years, after which time they may
rn home, but they are liable to be re-called during
next seven years, to do active duty as the Redif.
Redif is a reserve corps. The Auxiliaries are
e troops which the various pachas choose to raise
maintain in their several pachaliks. The Irregu-
are a motley assemblage of Bashi-Bazouks, and
r wild adventurers, and are not much to be depend-
pon. The Constabulary are a kind of police, and
e to do duty when the regular troops are called
y to some other sphere of action.

he general selected by the czar to conduct the
ubian campaign has been already stated. His
gonist who was at the head of the Turkish forces,
Omar Pacha—a man far more remarkable than
chakoff—remarkable for his relinquishing his na-
lity, and becoming a follower of Islam; his un-
ted bravery and well-known skill as a military
nander; and the almost uniform success which at-
d his movements in the field. The career of this
idual has indeed been a strange one. He was an
rian subject, born at the village of Haski, in
ia, in 1802; and his name was Lattas—his fa-
being at the time administrator-general of the
of Oguline. The young Michael Lattas studied
school of mathematics at Thurm, in Transylva-

nia; and then entered the military corps of Ponts et Chaussées, belonging to Austria. He had a tolerably competent knowledge of mathematics; but, after serving in two offices as a clerk under government, he disagreed with his rulers, changed his religion, quitted his country, and became a Mahomedan. He now became a clerk to a merchant at Widdin; and, after changing his name from Lattas to the more Oriental one of Omar, he engaged himself as tutor in a wealthy family—his knowledge of the Servian, Italian, and German languages being a sure recommendation for this office. When the family in which he resided removed to Constantinople, Omar by degrees became perfect master of the Turkish language: and succeeded in becoming acquainted with military men. After some time he obtained a situation in one of the military schools founded by the late Sultan Mahmoud; and while in this office, he obtained the friendship and patronage of Khrosrou Pacha, the sultan's great auxiliary in the reforms that were then taking place. The aged pacha obtained for him a post in the army, made him his aide-de-camp, and secured for him the office of writing-master to the future sultan, Abdul Medjid, then a boy. Omar shortly afterwards married Khrosrou's ward, a daughter of one of the last of the Janissaries. He engaged energetically in the army reforms projected by the sultan, first as chief of battalion, and afterwards as aide-de-camp and interpreter to General Chsanowski, who taught the Turkish troops European tactics at Constantinople. Omar was next employed to superintend a topographical survey in Bulgaria and Wallachia—a situation which proved of valuable service to him, in qualifying him for the important duties which devolved upon him in later years. He was lieutenant-colonel when Abdul Medjid came to the throne in 1839; but he was speedily promoted first as colonel, and then as major-general. At this time he had seen no service in the field; but betwixt the years 1840 and 1847, he was engag-

quelling insurrections in Syria, Albania, and
osnia—outbreaks from which Turkey is seldom
ee, only for short intervals. As a reward for the
rvices he rendered to the Ottoman power in those ar-
ous duties, he was made lieutenant-general, and
cha. In the year 1848, he was despatched into the
rincipalities, on a mission—partly military and part-
diplomatic—a mission which required great skill and
dgment; and so well did he succeed, that his impe-
l master conferred on him the dignity of mushir.
e also, in 1851, when the Moslem inhabitants of
osnia refused to yield to the reforming tendencies
the sultan, displayed great military abilities, and suc-
ed in inducing the refractory both in Bosnia and
ntenegro to bow to the will of the sultan. When
crisis arrived that Turkey must either draw the
ord or bow the neck to the yoke of Russia, Omar
cha was appointed generalissimo of the Turkish
ny, and most worthy did he eventually prove him-
f of the choice.

In his private and domestic life Omar Pacha is des-
bed as a most exemplary husband, and tender and
ectionate father.

At the close of October, 1853, then, a Russian army,
der the command of Prince Gortchakoff, and a
rkish army, under the direction of Omar Pacha,
t face to face on the opposite banks of the Danube.

CHAPTER II.

DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES—HOSTILITIES COMMENCED BY THE TURKS AND RUSSIANS ON THE DANUBE—TURKISH FORCES—BATTLES OF OLTINITZA, CITALE, KALAFAT, GIURGEVO—SIEGE OF SILISTRIA.

THE early Greek writers have given to the Danube the name of Istros. It was called by the Romans Ister; but they learned the name Danubius from the natives on the upper course of the stream. Strabo says that the upper parts of the river, as far as the cataract, are called Danubius; the lower parts as far as the Black Sea, are called Istrus. It is now called by the Hungarians, Duna, and by the Germans, Donau. Its course is said to be 1,770 miles, and the surface drained by it and its tributaries to exceed 300,000 square miles. A strange destiny is that of the Danube! When the traveller approaches the Black Forest, and enters upon Suabia, the guides inquire whether he would like to see the source of one of the grandest rivers of Europe. They conduct him to the small garden of the palace at Donaneschingen; they show him a miserable stone trough—and say, "Behold the source of the Danube!"

Geographers commonly divide the course of the Danube into three parts. The upper course is through the hilly country, the Bavarian plain, and the mountains which divide that plain from the plains of Hungary. A few miles east of Vienna the first course terminates. The middle course reaches from Vienna to the Demirkaji, and the lower traverses the Wallachian plains. The Wallachian bank seldom rises more

an fifty or sixty feet above the level of the sea; ilst at Silistria, Rustchuk, Sistova, and Nicopoli, ere are heights of from one to three hundred feet. little further inland—for example, at Razgrad—ere are elevations of nine hundred feet; and further , before arriving at Shumla, there is a table-land that aches the elevation of one thousand four hundred d fifty feet.

The Danubian provinces, which derive their name m this great river, are Moldavia, Wallachia, and lgaria.

Moldavia is a province of northern Turkey, bounded the east by the Russian province of Bessarabia, and arated from it by the river Pruth. It contains an a of about 17,000 square miles; its greatest length—t is, from south to north—is 200 miles; its breadth, ut 120. The climate, in summer, is remarkably ; in winter, intensely cold, so that the rivers are en and the ground covered with snow for a con-erable time. The mineral wealth of the district is l to be great; but, in consequence of the unsettled e in which the country has been for several cen-ies, little advantage has been taken of it. The is exceedingly fertile. Vast herds of horses, cattle, sheep are fed in the luxuriant meadows. The nerous forests which abound in the locality produce rly every description of timber. Jassy is the capi-f Moldavia, and occupies a position on the banks he Bachlei, a small stream which flows into the th.

Wallachia is bounded on the north by the Carpa-n mountains, and joins the principality of Mol-ia. According to Balbi, the area extends over 49 square miles, and the population numbers 000. The climate resembles that of Moldavia, the temperature is somewhat milder. The waters well supplied with fish. The Wallachian harvests bundant. The vines grow well. Timber is plen-. Only one-third of the country is cultivated;

but the trade and commerce, which formerly lay almost in the hands of Jews, has lately considerably improved. Bucharest is the capital city. It is pleasantly situated in the eastern part of the country, on a rich and spacious plain. The name signifies "City of enjoyment." It is the great commercial mart of the principality, but possesses no architectural beauty to recommend it.

Bulgaria is an extensive district stretching to the southern banks of the Danube, from the borders of Servia to the Black Sea. It is separated from the plains of Roumelia, by the Balkan chain of mountains. The Balkan is divided into two sections, the greater and the less. The first rears its gigantic peak six thousand feet in height; the latter are not half that altitude.

The lesser Balkan is so remarkable in its form that it has been compared to half a roof. It is distinguished by a single rise, steep and abrupt, from the plains of Roumelia to the top of the ridge, from which there is a beautiful gradual descent to the great levels of Wallachia. This descent is not by one slope, but by a long series of vales of increasing depth, until the last reaches the noble Danube. Several of these valleys are watered by small streams. One, from its impetuosity, its sudden rises and falls, is called the Mad River; and another, from its regularity, the Intelligent River.

There are several passes across the Balkan. The principal are, Trajan's Gate, to the westward, on the route from Widdin and Sophia to Philippopoli and Adrianople, which last town is distant from Constantinople about forty-five leagues; the Chipka pass, on the road from Sistova and Tirnova to Adrianople; and the great pass of Shumla, on the road leading from Rustchuk, or Silistria, by Shumla, to Adrianople. The rocky defiles of the Balkan, and the shores of the Black Sea, present a succession of defensive positions favourable to the manner of fighting common to the Moslems. Sophia is the chief town of Bulgaria.

Jassy, or as it is sometimes called Yassy, occupies large space of ground, and is a place of much importance. Most of the dwellings in the city are ivided from each other by courts, and gardens, and lantations of trees. There is something very impos- ng in the aspect of the place. The strange architec- ure of the cathedral and the palace of the Hospo- ars, the mass of houses so peculiar in their form, the road open country, and the city backed by the lof- Carpathians, all unite to present a scene never to e forgotten.

Jassy has frequently been taken by the Russians, but as always been restored on the cessation of hostili- es. In 1723 it was entirely destroyed by fire; deso- ted by the pestilence in 1772; burned by the Janis- aries in 1822; consumed again in 1827. These two st conflagrations reduced the town almost to a ruin. efore this the population was reckoned 40,000; it d forty-three churches and twenty-six convents.

The countries of Moldavia and Wallachia are close- connected. They are simply separated by political oundary, and were originally the same country. me out of memory they have been the battle-fields r contending forces, subjected to great devastations the several hordes which have invaded the Byzan- e empire. About the middle of the thirteenth cen- ry, a colony, under Bogdan, began to re-occupy the untry. The locality was then called by the Turks ogdania; the name of Moldavia is derived from a er which bears a similar appellation. From this riod the rulers of Moldavia, called voyvodes—a Sla- nic term signifying military leaders—were often bject to the kings of Hungary, but also frequently erted their independence, until 1536, when they bmitted to the protection of the Turks. This was der the voyvode Roydan, who acted under the ad- e of his father Stephen, in order to insure those pri- eges by submission which must have been entirely had the country fallen under the Ottoman arms.

To Wallachia the sultan had already granted certain rights and privileges, which were now extended to Moldavia. For this an annual tribute was demanded, and willingly given. The military rulers were now to be elected by the clergy and nobility, and the election to be ratified by the sultan. But the sultan was not to interfere in the government of the principality. Turks were not to settle within its borders. The voyvodes were at liberty to make peace or declare war without reference to the sultan, and exercised the power of life and death over their subjects. No Moldavian or Wallachian could be summoned to Constantinople by the Turkish government, or to any part of the Turkish dominions. The various modifications which these privileges have undergone are too well known to need recapitulation here. And into the circumstances connected with the abolition of the electoral right we shall not enter.

The Wallachians call themselves Rumani, or Romans. The name by which they are more commonly known is said to be derived from *wloch*, a Servian word signifying shepherd; or, as some have supposed, from Wolschi, a Turkish nation living north of the Danube, and in Russia. Others, again, derive the name from the Slavonic *Wlosh*, which, among the Poles, the Servians, and other Slavonic nations, still signifies an Italian, or a Roman, and seems to be the same as the German Wälsh.

The struggle betwixt the Turkish and Russian troops on the Danube in 1853-4 will always redound to the honour and glory of the former; for their untiring efforts amidst dangers and difficulties won them the praise and admiration of all persons acquainted with military tactics. They indubitably proved to Gortchakoff and his troops that they had no contemptible foe to contend with.

On opening the campaign, the leaders of the opposing forces issued proclamations, in the names of their sovereigns, to the inhabitants of the Principalities,

tating the reasons why each was taking the step that rought them into the country. Of course these do- uments contradicted each other—the one stating that be black, which the other declared to be white—but hen such anomalies are to be expected in declarations nd counter-declarations of war.

The number of the Ottoman forces at the time Omar acha took the field was calculated as follows,—about 20,000 in Bulgaria, betwixt the Balkan and the Da- ube; 15,000 in Bosnia and the north-western pro- inces of the empire; 6,000 on the Servian frontier; 0,000 in Roumelia, around Adrianople; and from 0,000 to 100,000 in Asia—making in the whole about 50,000. There was a bustling active military spirit work, at the time, and measures were adopted to mbody 50,000 of the rédif to be stationed around onstantinople, and other chosen places. The enthu- asm was very high in Constantinople, and the horses quisite for the rédif cavalry were supplied in one ay. The men also came forward in a prompt and cheer- l manner, willing to fight for Islam and the sultan. atriotic gifts were poured in from all quarters, con- sting of jewels, money, horses, houses, and lands. milar offerings, it is said, were made by the Rus- ans in aid of the opposite cause.

The dress of the Turkish soldier, since it was remo- lled on the French system, has become more easy d simple. It consists of blue trowsers; a single- easted jacket of coarse cloth; a red front to the col- r, and red edges to the cuffs; and white cross-belts. he Bashi-Bazouks are a wild lawless tribe, and any ttempt to remodel their costume proved abortive; ey appear in whatever kind of dress suits their ncy.

We must attribute in a great measure, the success the Ottoman forces, which we are now about to rrate, to the skill and strategy of Omar Pacha. He s thoroughly acquainted with the country in which was about to commence operations; therefore he

arranged his plans in accordance with the knowledge he possessed; and well did the result justify him in the anticipations which he entertained of the success of those plans. We now proceed to notice the more exciting and active operations of the belligerents.

In the periods between 1853 and July, 1854, the events of this campaign became separated into two characteristics. In the one the Turks crossed the Danube from Bulgaria into Wallachia, and attacked the Russians; in the other, the Russians crossed from Wallachia and Moldavia into Bulgaria, and attacked the Turks. In the one, the actions have become familiar by the names of Kalafat, Citale, Oltenitza, and Giurgevo; in the other the operations are connected with Silistria, and with the Dobrudscha, towns of Rassova, Kustendji, Hirsova, Matchin, Isakcha, and Tuttcha.

The Turks crossed the Danube at four widely separated points, in each case entering Wallachia from Bulgaria. One of these transits was from Widdin to Kalafat; another from Rustchuk to Giurgevo; a third from Turtukai to Oltenitsa; and a fourth from Silistria to Kalarasch; and the period during which these movements were made, was from 28th October to 4th November. Three out of four of these proceedings led to important results; the fourth, the crossing from Silistria to Kalarasch, was of non-effect; for the Russians drove back the Turks, and afterwards laid siege to Silistria. The most western of these movements was from Widdin to Kalafat. Widdin is a town of about 30,000 inhabitants, and has for centuries past been a strong post in all the contests between the Turks and their northern neighbours. Viewed from a distance, the mosques and minarets tower rather oddly above the fortified walls.

Kalafat, the Wallachian town opposite Widdin, is a smaller place; but, nevertheless, it has 2000 houses, a town-hall, a custom-house, three churches, a barrack for cavalry, a quarantine station, and fortified walls.

There are two high hills outside the town, about a mile asunder, which have furnished the means of supplying Kalafat with strong fortifications. In the campaign of 1828, these hills were occupied by the Russians; but in that of 1853—4, the Turks had this advantage.

It was from Widdin to Kalafat that a Turkish force about 12,000 strong, crossed the Danube on the 28th of October, occupying both Kalafat itself and a small island near the Wallachian shore. The Russian force situated in this part, being too weak to resist the Turks retired to a position at Slatina, a town on the Aluta. The Turks did not attempt much in the way of pursuit, but proceeded at once to fortify Kalafat and its vicinity. They raised redoubts of great strength and extent; some of them on the two lofty hills, and completely commanding all approach to the Danube in that direction. The little island, too, was defended by strong earthen intrenchments, mounted with large guns. Taken in connection with Widdin and its defences, the two towns and the interlying island formed one stronghold, well fortified, supplied with 250 heavy guns, and occupied by a large army.

The Russians were not prepared for such a vigorous attack in this one spot. In the first place, they did not expect that Omar Pacha would have so promptly kept his word, to attack Gortchakoff unless he withdrew from the Principalities within fifteen days; and in the next place, they had 400 miles of the Danube to look to, and could not spare a large force at each important place.

While these events were occurring at Kalafat, stirring scenes were presented at Oltenitza, two hundred and fifty miles lower down the river. The Turkish forces that crossed the Danube from Turtukai to Oltenitza have been numbered by the Turks at about 12,000. A corps had been for some days concentrated near Turtukai, concealed from the enemy partly by bushes and partly by a fog. An island stands in the middle of

the Danube, exactly between Turtukai and Oltenitza, and this island played an important part in the tactics of the battle. On the 2nd of November, the Turks began to make the passage, favoured by the interposition of the island; and by the morning of the 3rd 5000 men were on the island, 5000 had crossed over to the northern or Wallachian shore of the Danube, and 2000 were in barges ready to cross. During the night, the rest crossed; and the morning of the 4th found the Turks ready to meet the Russians, who were placed in pickets along the shore. The picket of Oltenitza, with a reserve behind the town, amounted to about 5000 men; but other reinforcements came up in the course of the day. The engagement commenced at dawn of day, and lasted many hours. The Russians, inferior to their opponents in number, fought well; and the contest was severe on both sides. About noon, the Turks suffered a temporary check; but when night closed in, they remained masters of the shore, while the Russians retired behind Oltenitza.

Omar Pacha, in transmitting a detailed account of the battle at Oltenitza to the Turkish government states the various plans he adopted before the battle. He then alludes to the success attending those plans; and makes honourable mention of those who particularly distinguished themselves for bravery among his troops. And concludes by announcing the utter discomfiture of the enemy's efforts;—the flight of the Russians, and the severe loss they sustained. Above 1,000 Russians were left dead on the field, and upwards of 2,000 wounded. The loss of the Turks amounted to 106.

The Russians state that their numbers before the battle were 9,000 to 18,000 Turkish troops. But this statement is widely different from the Turkish account; and it is difficult to decide the matter correctly. The Russians were commanded by Dannenberg and Perloff. The Turks were prevented from pursuing the Russians, by heavy rains, from Oltenitza to

Bucharest; and they recrossed the Danube about the middle of November.

Nothing of any particular importance occurred betwixt the contending parties during the last few weeks of the year 1853.

We must now direct the attention of the reader to the splendid affair which ushered in the year 1854, near to Kalafat, an accomplishment which buoyed up the spirits of the Turks, whilst it depressed and cast down those of the Russians. It was called the battle of Citale; but it was in reality a number of struggles, lasting several days. The Russians, in the months of November and December, gradually strengthened themselves in Lesser Wallachia. General Aurep received orders to advance upon Kalafat from Krajova; and he endeavoured to render the roads passable for artillery between Slatina, Karacal, Krajova, and Kalafat. At the close of December, the Turks had succeeded in compelling the Russian General Fischbach to quit Krajova, and to retire behind Aluta. About the first day of the New Year, three Russian columns advanced through Karacal, one along Aluta, and a corps of more than 20,000 men towards Kalafat.

Prince Gortchakoff was no doubt very much chagrined at the Turks being at Kalafat; he sent large reinforcements from Upper Wallachia to Krajova, a town about sixty miles north-east of Kalafat with orders to drive the Turks back across the Danube by a resolute attack on their position at Kalafat. The account of this brilliant affair is pourtrayed in the following vivid manner:—

"The Russians succeeded in getting round on the flank of the Turkish intrenchments, and flung up redoubts at Citale, a village rather higher up the Danube than Kalafat. The intelligence of the intended attack had reached the Turks; and Achmet Pacha, the general in command, determined to anticipate it. On the 5th January, he sent a strong corps from Kalafat to Maglovet, a little village on the way to Citale, where

they bivouacked during that night. Next morning they were under arms. As yet, however, not a glimpse had been seen of the Russians. Not a sound was to be heard in the village; not a sentinel was even visible; and it was conjectured that the village might have been evacuated. Six companies of chasseurs, under the command of Tefnik Bey, Omar Pacha's nephew, were sent up the hill to begin the attack, and advanced, firing as skirmishers, but without bringing any response. They were just in the act of entering, when a single cannon-shot, followed closely by a whole broadside, revealed the presence of the enemy, who now made their appearance, and seemed disposed to contest the ground on the outside. Some sharp firing ensued, but the chasseurs were pushed on, and close behind followed the four battalions of infantry under Ismail Pacha, with a battery of field-artillery, which opened a heavy fire with great effect. The Russian gunnery was bad; few of the balls hit, and the shells nearly all burst in the air, and fell harmless. Ere the Turks had fired a dozen shots, the enemy retired into the village, sheltering themselves in and around the houses, and opened a deadly fire of musketry upon the advancing column. 'Ismail Pacha's appearance at this moment struck all who saw him with admiration, as it spoke volumes for his daring hardihood as a soldier, though it said but little for his prudence as a general. He rode into the village at the head of his troops, sword in hand, mounted on a white horse, his orders glittering on his breast, and wearing a white pelisse—the mark for a thousand bullets at every step. But he seemed to bear a charmed life; for though two horses were killed under him, it was long before he was wounded, and then only slightly in the arm.'

"The battle soon began to rage fearfully. As the troops rushed on, the numbers falling increased on both sides. A rush was made on the houses with fixed bayonets, and the conflict was then indeed terrific. The Russians contested every wall and room with e

during courage, and were literally massacred *en masse*. No quarter was asked or given. The Turks, enraged by the resistance, put to death all who fell in their way; nor were the Russians slow to follow the example. The officers were seen, in several instances, pulling down their caps tightly on their foreheads, and rushing furiously on death, scorning to yield. In little more than an hour, the high road and the space around the houses were covered with dead carcases, and the blood ran in streams down the hill. The combat raged in this way for nearly four hours, with heavy loss on both sides. Towards twelve o'clock, every house had been carried at the point of the bayonet, and the enemy fell back upon the road, but found that they were intercepted by the Turkish cavalry, two regiments of which had advanced along the ravine on the right, and placed themselves in the rear of the village. Being thus cut off, the Russians had no resource but to throw themselves into the redoubt, carrying their artillery with them. This they were enabled to accomplish in safety.

"Critical was the hour of noon for both armies. Another half hour would most likely, have seen the destruction of the remaining Russians, if the attention of the combatants had not been drawn by events of weightier importance in another part of the field. News of the dangerous position of the Russians had been transmitted to various villages wherein troops were stationed, and a formidable reinforcement appeared about half-past twelve. The Turkish reserve prepared to receive those fresh troops, who numbered 10,000 men—consisting of nine battalions of infantry, a regiment of Uhlans, and a regiment of the Paskéwitch Hussars, with sixteen guns. Four battalions advanced in line, three in column as a second line, and two as a reserve; the cavalry and artillery were placed on the flanks, and their march was directed towards the Kalafat road. The object was to place the Turks between two fires, and cut off their means of communi-

cation. With five Turkish battalions as reserve, Achmet Pacha prepared to receive these new foes. On the side of the hill below the ravine on the right was a sort of old fence, inclosing a square space of ground; and the Turkish troops were deployed to the right, above this inclosure, three battalions in line, and two in reserve, the right wing behind it, and the left extending into the plain; on the right flank was placed a battery of four 12-pounders, and on the left, one of six field-pieces. The cavalry at the village was recalled, and in conjunction with those of the reserve, was stationed on the left, one regiment a little advance of the rest. The time occupied in making these arrangements was one of painful suspense; and when all was ready, the inferiority of the Turkish force was very evident; but they had no other resource than to defend their position as bravely as they could.

"Now arrived the moment of conflict. 'The advance of the Russians was an imposing sight. Nothing could exceed the steadiness of their march; every line and column stepped in time as one man, and all the distances were as accurately observed as if they were parading at St. Petersburg. As they began to get nearer, three or four officers rode out in front to reconnoitre the ground, and then hastily retired. Immediately afterwards, the two battalions of reserve changed their position, and advanced with two pieces of artillery towards the ravine on the right of the Turks.' The Russian artillery appears to have been badly served, whereas the Turkish, under Hadji Mustapha, was worked with skill and effect. Onward, nevertheless, came the dense mass of Russian infantry; and a slight confusion having occurred among the Turks, occasioned by the bursting of a gun, the Russians prepared to charge with the bayonet. The Turkish batteries now opened a tremendous shower of grape-shot, every shot telling with fearful effect upon the close ranks of the column, sweeping them away one after the other, as fast as they were filled up. The

infantry, at the same time, becoming impatient, the order was given to advance, and the whole line came forward—the right wing entering the enclosure—and fired and loaded as they marched, shouting their national war-cry. The Russians for some minutes bore up bravely; but at last the head of the column began to waver. In vain the officers urged the men to move onwards. Broken by the iron shower from the batteries, and the close and raking fire of the musketry, they fell into disorder, and turned and fled pell mell across the plain, casting aside everything—muskets, and even musical-instruments. The Turkish cavalry neglected, or were unable, to pursue; and the Russians were thereby enabled to carry off their artillery. Although the Russians had thus been defeated both in the village and the plain—for, in effect, there were two distinct battles—yet the Turkish general did not think it desirable to renew the attack on the Russian reboubt at Citale: he retired with all his forces to Kalafat, which he retained, while the Russians voluntarily abandoned Citale, and the whole of the villages in the neighbourhood. The Turkish wounded were brought into Kalafat for the night, and were from thence conveyed across the Danube to Widdin."

The Turks must evidently have worked their artillery much better than the Russians. The loss was serious on both sides: that of the Turks amounted to 338 dead, and 700 wounded; whilst the Russians numbered 1,500 dead, and an untold number wounded. Prince Gortchakoff and General Aurep both incurred the czar's displeasure for their want of success at Citale; as did also Dannenberg, for his failure at Olenitza.

The Russians now lay on their arms for a while, and employed the time in strengthening their posts. Prince Gortchakoff proceeded on a tour of inspection and examination to Krajova; and made such arrangements as he thought most desirable. Meanwhile reinforcements continued to arrive, until the Russian force in

Lesser Wallachia amounted to about 40,000. About the beginning of February these troops were concentrated together, awaiting for the time when they might make a second and more determined attack upon the Turks at Kalafat; while their antagonists, strengthened by more troops from Widdin, waited undauntedly to receive them.

But we must leave these contending forces for a time, and attend to transactions taking place in Upper Wallachia, after the victory of Oltenitza, early in November. Of the four passages of the Danube taken by the Turks, when they entered the Principalities in October and November, two were at Rustchuk and Turtukai. A small body of Turks crossed from Rustchuk to Giurgevo, between which two places is an island in the Danube; and they took possession of this island, and continued to hold it for some time in spite of all the efforts of the Russians to dislodge them. Rustchuk, which continued for many months to be regarded by each of the belligerents as an important position, is a large town of 50,000 inhabitants, with a considerable trade.

The transactions which took place during the last two months of 1853, and the first two of 1854, in this part, may be designated as a succession of almost uninterrupted daring and sudden attacks—a small force dashing across the river, inflicting some mischief on the enemy, and then returning. The Russians could make no permanent lodgment on the south bank, nor the Turks on the north.

The Russian plans and the Russian commanders underwent many alterations during these four or five months. The want of success brought some of the generals into disgrace; and the presence of the Allied fleets interfered with any operations in the direction of Varna. When Osten-Sacken's corps entered the Principalities, two camps of cavalry were established near Kremanzoff and Charcov, intrenchments were formed near Bucharest, and the general operations of

he campaign were conducted from this town as a cen-
ral depôt. About the middle of January, there were
8,000 Russians near Giurgevo under General Simon-
ff, and 5000 at Kalarasch under General Aurep,
atching the Turks at the opposite towns of Rustchuk
nd Silistria. By the end of January it was announc-
d that the army of occupation would be augmented
o 200,000 men, thus distributed—30,000, at Radovan,
o keep the Turks in check at Kalafat; 40,000 at
Bucharest and other posts in Wallachia and Molda-
ia; 40,000 to cross the Danube into the Dobrudscha;
0,000 to cross at Giurgevo, 20,000 to cross at Olten-
tza, and 20,000 to cross at Turnu or Turna. There
an be no doubt that many or all of these measures
ere planned; but the activity and frequent successes
f the Turks greatly interfered with the prosecution of
he Russian schemes. It is difficult, too, between the
ames of Paskévitch, Gortchakoff, Osten-Sacken,
Lüders, and Schilders, to discover who was the real
eader at any particular time; for changes were fre-
uent.

If reliance is to be placed on the statements made,
he actual forces engaged on the side of the Russians
n these encounters, would appear to have been about
80,000 troops sent across the Pruth at the close of
anuary; of these 35,000 were cut down by the sword,
old, sickness, and desertion—leaving 95,000 in the
Principalities at that time.

It appears to have been the intention of the Russian
enerals, when the severities of winter had ceased, to
egin so determined an attack on Kalafat as to ensure
s capture. It was said the Emperor Nicholas had
ommanded it to be taken, "cost what it might;" for
y its capture he hoped to penetrate into the western
art of Bulgaria, and thence cross one of the western
asses of the Balkan. This hope, however, was doom-
d to be disappointed. There were certainly frequent
kirmishes between the Russians and Turks near to
alafat, yet no decided advantage resulted from them.

Thus February, March, April, and May, passed away without anything remarkable occurring; and during these months the command of the Russian troops was changed and re-changed several times—first Gortchakoff, then Schilders, and then Liprandi. Two circumstances embarrassed and perplexed the Russians in Lesser Wallachia, as summer drew on—the dogged resistance of the Turks at Silistria,—which will be presently noticed: and the proposition of Austria to hold the Principalities for the Turks against the Russians.

When midsummer brought about the unexpected failure of the Russians at Silistria, matters became serious to Russia. Bulgaria was no longer a place for the czar's troops; the eyes of the generals began to turn occasionally to their line of retreat towards the Pruth—having to take into account both the Turks and the Austrians. It was at this time that the Turks crossed the Danube, and fought the battle of Giurgevo. Relieved from all fear for Silistria—the Russians being driven from that place—they perceived that the time for an advance was come; and notwithstanding the departure of the Turkish general, in some small measure from the instructions given him by Omar Pacha, yet a series of operations commenced which led to ultimate success.

The battle of Giurgevo, ably contested and sanguinary, may be considered as the closing serious conflict between the Turks and the Russians in the Danubian campaign; and it showed that the Turks were equal to their adversaries in bravery and courage. In the middle of the Danube, between Rustchuk and Giurgevo is a narrow island, about two miles in length. This island is 900 yards from the Bulgarian side, but is separated from the Wallachian by a very narrow channel only. There is a shallow pool along the centre of the island, and much sedge and marshy weed in other parts. This island was one of the first places fortified by the Russians when they arrived at the Da-

ube in the autumn of 1853; and it was destined to be
e last scene of conflict, for the engagement to
n the island, as well as the village of Giur
ere on this occasion many Englis
urkish army.

When the siege of Silistria seemed to be ending dis-
trously for the Russians, Hussein Pacha, Turkish
mmander at Rustchuk, resolved to make a dash at
e island, and, through it, at Giurgevo. He imagin-
the Russians were in retreat, and determined to
ursue them without previously
Omar
acha; he was wrong in his belief, and his determina-
on led him into difficulties which taxed his courage
d skill. Among the officers under his command
ere General Cannon—under the Oriental name of
hram Pacha—Lieutenant Burke of the Royal En-
neers, Lieutenant Meynell of the 75th, Captain Ar-
ld of the Bombay Engineers, and Colonel Ogleby—
of whom took a sort of voluntary honorary share in
e proceedings. These English officers, in fact, man-
ed the expedition, under the orders of Hussein Pa-
a. At about four o'clock in the morning on the 7th
July, four boats filled with 350 men passed over
m Rustchuk to the island: while a steamer landed
0 men rather higher up—the one party commanded
General Cannon, the other by Colonel Ogleby.
e Russian pickets retired hastily; but soon after-
rds a body of riflemen appeared, and fired at the
rks from among the sedge and brushwood. The
rkish riflemen replied, and kept up a sharp fire.
ssian infantry, however, now began to advance in
eat force; and General Cannon recrossed to Rust-
uk, to announce to Hussein Pacha that he must ei-
r have reinforcements or withdraw his troops. The
o small bodies of Turks had by this time joined, un-
Colonel Ogleby, and were driven back to the very
ge of the island, bravely bearing up against formid-
e numbers. Reinforcements now arrived from
stchuk, until Ogleby found himself at length at the

head of 5000 men; while the Russians were, in like manner, reinforced from the Giurgevo side. For ten hours continuously did the struggle last, until nightfall put an end to it. Busily did the Turks occupy themselves during the night, throwing up intrenchments, and preparing for a renewal of warm work on the morrow; but when daylight arrived, they were surprised to find that the Russians had retreated during the night, and were at that moment passing out of the village of Slobodsa, on the Wallachian side. The Turks immediately advanced, and occupied Giurgevo. The loss was severe; 300 killed and 600 wounded on the side of the Turks; and a much larger, but unknown number, on the side of the Russians. The floating of dead bodies down the Danube conveyed to Silistria the first news of the engagement. Soon after this, a corps of engineers laid down a bridge from the island to the Wallachian shore, and Omar Pacha passed the Danube with an army of 45,000 men.

The battle of Giurgevo was very disastrous to the English officers engaged. Lieutenant Burke, Lieutenant Meynell, and Captain Arnold crossed to the island early in the day, with a few hundred men each; but, through want of sufficient concert, they landed at three different points, and were never able to assist each other. Burke and his party were fiercely attacked by the Russians immediately on landing; they were all, after a long struggle, either bayoneted or driven into the river; and Burke himself, sharing manfully the dangers with those under him, fell with two rifle-balls and thirty bayonet wounds. Meynell experienced almost exactly the same fate as Burke, on a different part of the island-shore. Arnold had at first a gleam of success: he advanced against one of the Russian batteries, and drove them out of the intrenchment; but a superior force came against him, and the bayonet and the river put an end to his corps as to the other two. Not only were these three unfortunate small bodies of troops separated from each

other, but each and all were far distant from the main body under Colonel Ogleby. The bodies of Arnold and Meynell were never found. Burke's body was found, and was interred in a simple way—affecting from its very simplicity. His loss was greatly regretted: for he was not only a skilful officer, but it was remembered that he had strongly objected to Hussein Pacha's attack, as being in its character injudicious; and his loss, under such circumstances, was all the more to be lamented. He had just rendered Omar Pacha service in the defence of Silistria; and was about to depart for the scene of operations on the Circassian shores of the Black Sea, when his career was thus suddenly ended.

After the contest at and near Giurgevo, some of the Russians retreated to Frateschti, some to Kalugereni, and some to a position still nearer Bucharest. The Turks crossed the Danube at two other points, a few miles below Rustchuck, nearly at the time when the attack upon the island took place; and there were, in effect, three battles in progress at once—one on the island, and two between the Danube and Bucharest. The Russian generals were unfortunate in these encounters; Pagoff and Beboutoff were both wounded; while General Aurep, disgraced by the czar for his want of success, committed suicide. The Turkish generals, Iskender Bey, Halim Pacha, and Said Pacha, had various and frequent advantages over their antagonists of the Russian army. The two leaders were in near vicinity; and in proportion as Omar Pacha advanced into Wallachia, so did Prince Gortchakoff retire. The latter gathered his scattered forces from various directions, and posted them, to the number of 60,000, behind the river Arjish, in a position to command the roads from Giurgevo to Bucharest. These busy events in and around Giurgevo occurred during the first two weeks of July.

During the winter and spring, while the Turks were

making determined attacks on the Wallachian side of the Danube, and gaining possession of positions from whence they could not be dislodged, the Russians were making attacks on the Bulgarian side, which there placed the Turks on the defensive. These attacks were nearly all made in the Dobrudscha, near the mouth of the Danube; and at Silistria, which sustained a formidable siege.

The operations in the Dobrudscha were not of any great importance; the Turkish troops energetically endeavoured to contest several points with their enemies, but the Russians were too powerful in numbers, and succeeded in possessing Tultcha, Matchin, and Isakcha; also Hirsava, and Czernavoda, near the Rassova end of Trajan's Wall. These advantages rendered the Russians in a great measure masters of the Dobrudscha; but it was not without heavy losses that they gained their successes. But worse were to follow; for the Turks prevented the Russians from advancing southward out of the Dobrudscha—thus shutting them up for two months in a dismal, marshy, and unwholesome district, with a broad river behind them, an active enemy in front of them, a hostile fleet on the east, and a discontented peasantry around them. So completely was the Russian army locked up, as it were, in the Dobrudscha, that it contributed little during the remainder of the campaign, to the furtherance of the czar's darling objects.

The cruelties practised by some portions of the Russian army towards the peasantry in the Dobrudscha, were the cause of much hatred and animosity being manifested by the latter to the Russian troops; and frequent bloodshed was the consequence.

We will now endeavour to give the details of the siege of Silistria—the most distinguished event which took place in the Danubian campaign.

Silistria is perhaps the most important town possessed by Turkey on the banks of the Danube. It is doubtful whether in a military sense it is equalled by

Viddin. The Danube is extremely broad at Silistria. The town contains about 20,000 inhabitants. The Russians held it for some time as a pledge for the fulfilment of the provisions of the Treaty of Adrianople, and a large Greek church and convent were commenced during that period. The town is almost semi-circular in form, with five bastions on the river-side, and seven landward. All the scarps and counter-scarps are of solid masonry. The main strength of the place consists in a series of detached forts, commanding the whole enceinte of the town. One of these forts, called Abdul Medjid, after the name of the sultan, is on an eminence at the back of Silistria, and is flanked on the right and left by two others—the three enclosing a sort of oval shape. The positions of these forts have direct relation to the bastions of the town; and most of these great defensive works were constructed by the Turks during the last six months of 1853—so important is Silistria deemed by them in a time of war. The fortifications were planned by Colonel Gutakavskai, a Polish officer. The chief defences however, in the great struggle, were earthworks, constructed eastward of the town.

Both the Russians and the Turks were fully aware of the strategetical importance of Silistria. If that place was taken, the Turks lost at once one angle of the triangle which it forms with Rustchuk and Shumla; and they would be in danger of losing any troops which they might have in the Dobrudscha, which might thus be cut off. And the Russians, by gaining Silistria, would possess a *tete de pont* for operations on Shumla and Varna, in the direction of the Balkan. Although the Russians found the conquest of Silistria practicable in 1828-9, yet, in 1854, they found their antagonists of a different character.

About the 14th of April the Russians commenced the bombardment of Silistria. The cannonading was continued for almost a fortnight, day and night, during which time a great many balls and shells were thrown

into the town. Other batteries were constructed, and shot and shell were now poured into Silistria from both the north and south banks of the Danube. Dreadful was the destruction; the Turks were so perseveringly active, so bold and resolute, that every operation by General Schilder was watched and met promptly. The Russian forces were, however, tremendous; besides enormous batteries on the north shore, there were 50,000 troops transported to the south shore; while the Turks could not muster 10,000 altogether. To the east of the town there were some earthworks which the Russians were determined to take; but the Turks were determined *they should not take*; and the hand-to-hand conflict became terrific.

The Turks continued this dogged resistance for some time, and showed that they were possessed of courage and hardihood, when properly commanded and officered. But notwithstanding all their efforts, their situation was anything but cheering; surrounded by overwhelming numbers, their spirits began to droop; and they would have drooped more, but for two Englishmen, Captain Butler and Lieutenant Nasmyth, who stopped at Silistria on their way from India. Their blood warmed up at the heroic defence made by the Turks; and, under their direction, the Turks made frequent sorties, and inflicted great loss on the Russians.

By the middle of May, the Russians outside Silistria amounted to 70,000. The fort Abdul-Medjid, or Medjidie-Tabia, was too strong to be attacked until the earthworks were taken; and for three weeks was an incessant bombardment of the Arab Tabia maintained, conducted by Prince Paskevitch in person.

On the 29th of May the Russians made a furious attack on the redoubt near the Stamboul gate. Their approach having been made under the cover of darkness, they penetrated into the works before they were discovered, and a lieutenant of artillery was cut down by a Russian officer who led the attack. But the garrison were soon on the alert; the officer was killed;

nd, after a furious struggle, the enemy was driven out, uffering severely from the grape and canister fired rom the ramparts. A second and third attack were made on the same redoubt before daybreak, with no better success—the Egyptian and Albanian troops who defended that portion of the works driving the Russians back with great gallantry, and pursuing them as ar as their own batteries. The loss of the Russians in his attack exceeded 2,000, while the defenders lost only 8 killed and 121 wounded, among whom were several fficers. The enemy's dead were taken to the batteries f the besiegers by the Turks, under the protection of white flag. The Russian officers complained of the nutilation to which many of the bodies had been subected; but this was the work of the barbarous irreulars called Bashi-Bazouks, and was contrary to a pecial firman of the Sultan. On the night of the 30th he Russians again advanced in force to the walls; but fter throwing a shower of shells for an hour they reired. Mussa Pacha, the brave governor of Silistria, as killed by the bursting of a shell near him on the nd of June, just as he had informed the messenger ho brought him the order of Medijidiè from the Sulan, as the reward of his faithful services, that he wished to receive the decoration without any pomp or cerenony. He was an active, intelligent, and zealous offier, and his death was a great loss to the Turkish cause. He was succeeded by Hussein Pacha, who had previously commanded at the works which had been attacked and so gallantly defended on the 28th and 29th of May. The enemy had at this time sunk a mine beneath the fort: but it was fired so clumsily that, instead of blowing up the works, it exploded backwards, destroying a great number of the Russian storming-party, who were ready to rush forward. During the month of June the fortifications were several times assailed by the Russian infantry and artillery in great force, but in every instance they were repulsed with great loss, and at length grew so dispirited that it was

a work of difficulty with the officers to get their men to march against the walls. Even the pictures of the saints, borne by the priests, failed to stimulate that religious enthusiasm upon which the Czar had so much relied for success in this war. But things were not much better in Silistria; for the garrison had grown dispirited, the Arnauts clamoured for arrears of pay, and the Prussian officer of engineers who had conducted the defence advised Hussein Pacha to capitulate. The only chance of avoiding that alternative seemed to be in the arrival of reinforcements, which would have enabled them to sally forth and drive the Russians from before the town. But Omar Pacha was detained at Shumla by the presence of the enemy in the Dobrudscha, and no reinforcements came. Fortunately, the Russians were themselves so dispirited with the protracted operations, their successive defeats, and the presence of sickness in the camp, that they raised the siege during the night of the 23rd; and when the sun rose the next morning not a Russian could be seen. Troops of light cavalry were sent out to scour the country, and the infantry issued forth to level the trenches. A special messenger was sent off to Shumla with the intelligence, and the news reached Lord Raglan's quarters the same evening. A hasty council of war was held, and the result of their deliberations was that Lord Burghersh started at eleven o'clock at night for Devna, with orders for the Earl of Cardigan to take a portion of the cavalry under his command and scour the country in search of the Russians; for it was not known at that time in what direction they had marched. He reached the English camp at two o'clock next morning, and before four the 8th Hussars and 17th Lancers were in pursuit. The Russians had crossed the Danube, and no encounter took place. General Paskevitch, notwithstanding his great age and his long and valuable services to his government, was ordered by the czar to retire to his estates in Podolia, for not having succeeded in capturing Silistria.

The abandonment of the siege was announced by Omar Pacha in nearly the following terms:—"You know that there were before Silistria 80,000 Russians, who were continually attacking the town night and day. In spite of their efforts during forty days they were not able to make themselves masters of any point. You also know that I had assembled all our forces before Shumla, and that I was about to march to the assistance of Silistria. Six regiments of cavalry and three batteries had already left Shumla for that destination. The Russians, having become acquainted with this movement, retreated precipitately upon the left bank with all their artillery. During the forty days on which the investment of the place continued, the Russians had 25,000 men killed." Other accounts represent the Russian loss as somewhat less, but there can be no doubt, owing to the protracted and sanguinary nature of the struggle, that it has been very great. The loss of the Turks is estimated at from 8,000 to 10,000, and that of the enemy must have been at least four times as great.

Captain Butler, the young English officer before mentioned, fell a sacrifice to his voluntary aid in the Turkish cause during the siege. While making a reconnoissance of the enemy's works, in order to a sortie, he was struck in the forehead by a ball; and although no serious effects were apprehended, he sunk eight days afterward.

Omar Pacha wrote to Lord Raglan, eulogising the conduct of the young officer, and expressing his deep and heartfelt regret for the loss of such a devoted friend.

It is asserted that the Turkish commander was more affected by the death of Captain Butler than by any other event that took place during the campaign. The young Englishman was followed to the grave, in the Armenian cemetery at Silistria, by officers from every company of the Turkish army.

A correspondent of one of the London newspapers,

was permitted by Omar Pacha to visit Silistria directly after the siege. He says: "The street through which we passed was broken every few yards by large holes, five feet deep and three wide, in which were the remnants of Russian shells. The roofs of the houses were all more or less pierced by the passage of these terrible balls, and the party-walls were full of holes. The minarets in many places were pierced into steeples *a giorno*; but though many were much damaged, none had fallen. Nor had the houses crumbled to the ground under the fire, but stood bravely up under their wounds; it seemed, in truth, as if the edifices of Silistria had partaken of the spirit of its defenders, and had determined, like them, not to fall at any price. It is almost needless to say, that in Silistria no inhabitant had remained—they had all taken refuge in caves scooped out of the earth at the side of the hills, where they lay safely ensconced, suffering no doubt from want of motion, and sometimes from want of food, but safe. The soldiers alone remained in this place, sleeping at their posts by the walls, where they could man them at a moment's notice." It appears there was a spot where, during the siege, the Russians imagined the Turks were hidden in underground passages. "Upon this spot they had thrown thousands of shells. The places where they exploded harmlessly, were marked by little sticks planted there by the Turks; they were willow-wands, which, if they were to grow, would make a small forest. To the right of this favourite spot, no less than 2000 unexploded shells were picked up during the progress of the siege. This may give a faint idea of the warmth, more than tropical, there during several weeks."

Lieutenant Nasmyth—who was promoted to the rank of major by his own government, decorated with the Cross of the Legion of Honour by the French, and with that of the Medijidiè by the Turks—commented, with some severity, in a letter in the *Times*, on the Russian tactics at Silistria. "The Turkish army," he

ays, "may well talk with pride. Their opponents ad an army on the right bank of the Danube, which t one time amounted to 60,000 men. They had 60 uns in position, and threw upwards of 50,000 shot nd shell, besides an incalculable quantity of small-arm mmunition. They constructed more than three miles f approaches, and sprang six mines. Yet during forty ays, not one inch of ground was gained; they aban- oned the siege, leaving the petty field-work against hich their princi al efforts had been directed, a hapeless mass from the effects of their mines and atteries, but still in possession of its original defend- rs."

The shores of the Danube became, by the end of uly, an uncongenial residence for the Russian troops. ortchakoff found that his position at Bucharest was ntenable; and therefore prepared to quit, by issu- ng a proclama to the inhabitants, telling them that he all-powerful czar had ordered the troops to evacu- te their unhealthy quarters on the Danube, for a hort time, but they would soon return, punish the bar- arous Turks, and deliver the Wallachians from the ttoman rule. He left the city on the 28th of July; nd on the 8th of August the Turks entered it, with olours flying, drums beating and trumpets sounding.

The inhabitants of the city welcomed the Turkish roops on their entrance: for they had tasted the bitter ruits of the Muscovite occupation. Hamin Pacha is- ued a proclamation, which contained sentiments of the urest and noblest morality and charity, and was wor- hy to be compared with any document of the kind is- uing from any Christian power.

Without any previous concurrence of England and rance, a Treaty was entered into between Tu key and ustria, agreeing that the Austrian troops should co- upy the Principalities, to protect them against Rus- ia, until such time as matters were brought into such state as that Austrian occupation would be no longer ecessary. This Treaty was signed on the 14th of

July; and, though it appeared fair on the outside, yet it was much canvassed at the time.

Accordingly, on the 6th of September, the Austrians, under the command of Count Coronini, entered Bucharest. As they came as the friends and allies of Turkey, proceedings were taken to render them a kind of triumphal entry. Omar Pacha, with a Turkish division, and a detachment of Wallachian militia, went out to meet them: the members of the administration, several boyards or nobles, and a vast concourse of people, were assembled on the occasion; and Count Coronini at the head of his army was conducted into the city. Dervish Pacha, the Ottoman commissioner, issued a proclamation, stating why the Austrian troops were about to occupy the Principalities; assuring the inhabitants that they came as friends, and would conduct themselves as such—paying in a just and equitable manner for everything they needed; and would regard the rights and property of the inhabitants in the strictest manner.

How far the Austrians fulfilled these declarations we will not at present say; but we will venture to assert that the poor Moldo-Wallachians are and have been from time to time treated in a most shameful manner—at one time under the controul of the Moslem sway—then under that of the followers of the Greek church—now that of the believers in the Latin Christianity. Truly, their condition was pitiable.

The Russians re-crossed the Pruth about the middle of September, and entered their own dominions; and thus ended the Danubian campaign—a campaign which reflects great honour on Omar Pacha, and the troops under his command.

CHAPTER III.

THE WESTERN ALLIANCE—DIPLOMACY—THE "VIENNA NOTE"—THREATENING ASPECT—THE SLAUGHTER AT SINOPE—RUSSIAN JUSTIFICATION OF THE SLAUGHTER—RENEWED EFFORTS TO PRESERVE PEACE—SECRET CORRESPONDENCE—DECLARATION OF WAR—CHARACTER OF THE WAR—NEUTRALITY OF AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA—COLONIAL SYMPATHY.

We now come to that part of the contest which more nearly affects the English reader. The real nature of the dispute, at the commencement, appeared trifling; and many people imagined that matters would have been amicably settled without recourse to arms. But when once discord is permitted to enter into societies or nations, the strife grows larger and larger, and draws within its vortex all that is subjected to its influence. At first it appeared but a paltry squabble; then it progressed to angry debates and warlike threats; then it extended to fierce and bloody battles and terrible sieges on the banks of the Danube; and lastly it drew within its deadly embrace the Western Powers—England with her formidable navy, France with her unequalled army. We will not now enter into all the intricacies of diplomacy, for probably most of our readers would derive but little instruction from such details.

Suffice it to say, that during the dispute at Constantinople, England remained neutral; but when the dispute merged into threats, and when vast bodies of Russian troops were evidently pouring down on the Turkish frontier, our government began to bestir itself.

England was bound by treaties which she had determined should be respected by the contracting parties, or the sword must be drawn to defend the right. Our ambassador at Constantinople, after the abrupt departure of Prince Menschikoff, wrote to the Earl of Clarendon on the matter, and the latter authorized Sir Stratford de Redcliffe to order the British fleet at Malta to steer towards the Dardanelles; and soon after the French government sent orders to their fleet, under Admiral de la Susse, to join the English fleet, under Admiral Dundas, at Besika Bay—immediately outside or southwards of the Dardanelles—there to wait further orders from the two ambassadors at Constantinople. It is a significant circumstance that throughout the voluminous correspondence of that period, all the other powers condemned the conduct of Russia, in picking a quarrel with Turkey, after the matter regarding the "Holy Places" had been settled.

The Russian government, in the middle of June, issued a circular, addressed to all its ministers at foreign courts, explaining the reasons which had induced the czar to act as he had done. At the beginning of July, the representatives of England, France, Austria, and Prussia, met in "Conference" at Vienna; where, with the sanction of their several governments, they prepared a "Note," or schedule of agreement, which should be transmitted to St. Petersburg and Constantinople; and that the four powers should use their utmost efforts to obtain the consent of the two belligerent powers to the terms therein contained. This note, as drawn up on the 26th of July, presented the form of a declaration from the sultan to the czar. The sultan, after expressing his "unbounded confidence in the eminent qualities of his august friend and ally," declared that he will remain faithful to the letter and to the spirit of the Treaties of Kainardji and Adrianople relative to the protection of the Christian religion; and that his majesty considers himself bound in honour to cause to be observed for ever, and to preserve from all

prejudice, either now or hereafter, the enjoyment of the spiritual privileges which have been granted by his majesty's august ancestors to the orthodox Eastern Church, and which are maintained and confirmed by him; and moreover, in a spirit of exalted equity, to cause the Greek rite to share in the advantages granted to the other Christian rites by convention or special arrangement. There were some smaller matters inserted, relating to the pilgrims at Jerusalem, a Russian church and hospital in or near the same city, and an increase of power to the Russian consuls in Palestine.

This "Vienna Note" was the subject of much discussion during the latter part of 1853. The Turkish government saw that the wording of it might be so used by Russia as to suit the purposes of the czar; and the avidity with which Russia accepted it was sufficient to cause suspicion, if nothing more. There were a few words left out, which, when inserted by the wish of Turkey, materially altered its phraseology, and at the same time were so absolutely necessary, that the other powers saw at once that their omission was a great oversight on their part, and at once acquiesced in the insertion of the additional words. The pith of the alteration consisted in the declaration, that the *Porte* will both concede and protect, in respect to the Christians of Turkey; whereas the original clauses would have given a handle for the czar to enter in his assumed capacity as "protector" of the Greek worship. Protection to Greek Christians might be all right, but protection *by the czar* was the point wished for by Russia. The czar refused to accept the note in its amended form, and this attempt failed.

The month of September approached—a month which generally proves so boisterous, that shipping lying at anchor in Besika Bay is often in great danger. Every effort was made to induce Russia to accept the amended note, but all was in vain: and the month of October brought the serious intelligence of probable

collisions in the Black Sea between the several fleets Admiral Dundas received orders to inform the Russian admiral commanding at Sebastopol, "that if the Russian fleet should come out of that port for the purpose of landing troops on any portion of the Turkish territory, or of committing any act of overt hostility against the Porte, his (Admiral Dundas's) orders are to protect the sultan's dominions from attack." Various plans and measures were adopted to heal the breach, but all were ineffectual; and, by the end of the month, all efforts were cut short by the crossing of the Danube, and the virtual commencement of hostilities. The Earl of Clarendon issued a circular letter to all the British ministers abroad, dated the 7th of November, in which the imminency of approaching war was touched upon. Meanwhile the Russian proceedings in the Danubian Principalities had become so audacious, that all the other powers became alarmed at them.

At length came the astounding news of the battle, or rather massacre, at Sinope, which was effectual, more than any other thing, in rousing up a spirit of indignation throughout Western Europe. The news reached London and Paris on the 11th of December. An investigation into all the circumstances was made by the steamers *Retribution* and *Mogador*, sent to Sinope for that purpose immediately after the catastrophe; and the following is the substance of the information obtained:—

"On the 13th November a Turkish flotilla, consisting of seven frigates (one of 60 guns), three corvettes, and two steamers, anchored in the Bay of Sinope. On the 21st a Russian squadron of three two-deckers, a frigate, and a brig, stood in for Sinope, and, after reconnoitreing the Turkish position, cruised off the harbour, maintaining the blockade in spite of the very heavy weather. It was suggested to Osman Pasha, the Turkish commander-in-chief, that as an action would be unavoidable, the best course would be to force the blockade, and make a running fight of it; but not

ntemplating any reinforcement of the Russians, he nfortunately rejected the advice of his subordinates, pon the consideration of some of his vessels having en damaged in a recent gale, and on the probability a successful result if the action were fought at an- or. On the forenoon of the 30th, a large Russian uadron, composed of three three-deckers and three o-deckers, under the command of Vice-Admiral achimoff, having also the flag of a rear-admiral, od in for the bay under full sail before the wind, d took up a position close alongside the Turkish , the latter not firing upon them while doing so. o frigates and three steamers remained outside to t off the retreat of any Turkish vessel attempting to ape. Osman Pasha forthwith signalled his fleet to ht bravely to the last in defence of their country, d at noon a desperate action commenced. For up- rds of an hour and a half the Turkish frigates re- ted these fearful odds without flinching. The first their losses was the Navick, frigate, whose captain, i Be , being menaced with boarding by a huge ee-decker, and having abandoned all hope of suc- sful resistance, with desperate devotion blew up vessel. At the end of the above period the des- ction of the Turkish force was frightful and com- te. Some of the ships were burnt by the enemy's -hot shot; others blew up; and the others, whose es were literally beaten in by the enormous weight the Russian metal, slipped their cables, and with exception of two, drifted on shore. The Russians w manned their yards, and cheered in honour of ir bloody victory. Having done this, they recom- nced firing upon the helpless wrecks, from which a ble drooping fire was still maintained with un- alled fortitude, and did not cease until they had pleted the work of destruction and butchery. They n took possession of the two vessels which had not e on shore, but, from their battered condition, ndoned and destroyed them the following day.

One of the Turkish steamers, the Taif, alone escaped. She had slipped her cable shortly after the commencement of the battle, and, after forcing her way at some risk through the force cruising outside, brought the first intimation of this fatal event to Constantinople. Before the action commenced, the Turkish crews numbered 4,490 men; of these 358 have survived, the others have been slain to a man at their posts. Most of the survivors are wounded; among them are 120 prisoners, who were taken on board the frigates abandoned by them, and who have been carried off to Sebastopol. Osman Pasha, the commander-in-chief, who was wounded in the action, is among the prisoners. Hussein Pasha, the second in command, while trying to escape from his burning vessel, was struck by a grape-shot on the head, and killed. The loss on the Russian side is not accurately known, as they retired immediately after the battle; but four of their ships were disabled in their spars, and were towed out by steamers. The support afforded to the Turks by the land batteries was ineffectual, owing partly to the lightness of their guns, and partly to their fire being intercepted by the Turkish ships. The town of Sinope is completely destroyed, either by shells or burning timbers, and the whole coast is strewn with dead bodies. A few survivors have made their way, by swimming, to the town; but such is the consternation among the local authorities, that all action on their part is paralysed, and they can scarcely find means even to procure medical assistance for the sufferers. These latter found speedy alleviation at the hands of the medical officers brought by her Majesty's steamer Retribution and the French steamer Mogador, who were zealously assisted by three of the survivors, surgeons on board the Turkish fleet."

From the above report it is clear that the Turks fought bravely, and stood to their guns to the last. Ali Bey, the commander of the Navick, seeing that his ship could not stand against the three-decker oppos-

o him, ordered her to be blown up; but not feeling ertain of the execution of that order, he himself hrew a lighted match into the powder-magazine. In 850 Ali Bey conveyed the Legione Monti (who were eturning to Italy, having taken part in the war in Hungary) from Constantinople to Genoa and Caglia-i, on board the frigate Illat, for which services the King of Sardinia presented him with the cross of aints Maurice and Lazarus.

The following statement shows the loss of ships, nen, the wounded, &c.:—Turkish fleet, 12 ships, 434 uns, and 4,490 men; Russian guns, 600, besides four teamers and two frigates, not in the action. Weight f Russian shot, 68 lbs., 42 lbs., and 32 lbs. Several hells and carcases used did not explode.

	Men.
Wounded and sound, brought to Constantinople by Retribution and Mogador	200
Left at Sinope, in charge of badly wounded..	10
Wounded, left at Sinope, could not be moved	20
Prisoners, as supposed	150
Escaped on shore, it is presumed	1,000
Escaped, per Taif steamer	300
	1,680
Total number of men... 4,490	
Accounted for 1,680	
Unaccounted for... 2,810	

The news of this horrible slaughter was received in ussia with great joy; and the czar transmitted to ince Menschikoff, and through him to the officers and men of the Russian fleet, his thanks for their meri-rious conduct in achieving this *glorious* victory over infidel Moslems.

The Russians attempted to justify this massacre by serting that the Turkish flotilla had on board troops d ammunition destined to the rebellious tribes in an ack on Sécoume Kalé, a Russo-Circassian town on

the north-east of the Black Sea; and that Russia was justified in destroying the flotilla under such circumstances. On the other hand, Turkey and her allies declare that the flotilla was only carrying provisions to Batoum, a Turkish town near the Russian frontier of the Black Sea; and that the destruction of a Turkish flotilla in a Turkish harbour was virtually a defiance to the Alliance, who had agreed to defend Turkey. The general impression produced in England and France, as well as in Turkey, was one of indignation; and this evidently weakened every effort to preserve peace.

At the close of the year, circulars were sent from the English and French governments to their ministers abroad, relating the proceedings which had occurred, regretting that all attempts to preserve peace had failed, and announcing that the Allied fleets would enter the Black Sea, and take up an attitude that would at once prevent such another catastrophe as that at Sinope. One more effort was made at the close of 1853 to preserve peace, by presenting to the Sultan an "Identic Note," or proposal in which all the four powers—England, France, Austria, and Prussia, were agreed, containing the basis for a settlement of the difficulties between Turkey and Russia. The sultan assented to this on the 31st of December, and proposed that forty days should be allowed for the czar to signify his assent. All the four powers were satisfied with this acceptance by the sultan, as maintaining the independence of the Turkish nation, and at the same time meeting every demand that Russia had a right to make.

The commencement of the year 1854 was characterised by active efforts of the four powers to induce Russia to accept the "Identic Note;" but when the Allied fleets entered the Black Sea,—which they did on the 4th of January—all attempts to preserve peace were unavailing,—the czar refusing to listen to any overtures;—and early in February, the Russian ambassadors were withdrawn from London and Paris, and

the English and French ambassadors from Russia. Thus, all the efforts of statesmen, ambassadors, with the accompaniment of notes, protocols, conferences, despatches, &c. &c. were fruitless and abortive. War between the Western Powers and Russia must take place.

In the Spring of 1854, there was great surprise excited in the houses of parliament and among the people, by the discovery that during the preceding year there had been an under current at work in the affairs of Turkey, viz. that a "Secret Correspondence" had been carried on between the English government and the government of Russia. This secret correspondence related to the state of Turkey. The Russian government intimating that Turkey was in a state of rapid decay, and that it would be an act of kindness to take the "sick man," under the joint care of England and Russia; and that as a recompense for their kind guardianship over the "sick man" they should become testators and executors before his death, and each seize a portion of his property—in plain terms, Russia proposed the dismemberment of the Turkish dominions. The English government refused to be a party to such a nefarious scheme; but the refusal was couched in such smooth and courtly terms, that the czar did not fail to make a handle of them in his after-projects. It appears also that there were several private conversations between the Czar and Sir H. Seymour, our ambassador at the court of St. Petersburg, during that year, on the same subject. Our ambassador, however, to his praise, plainly gave the emperor to understand that the British government would never concur in any such project. Strong animadversions, both by the English press, and by members of both houses of parliament, were made on this "secret correspondence."

The diplomacy, whether secret or open, was of no avail in healing the wounds which affected Europe; and war against Russia was declared in March, 1854. The Western Powers regarded it as a political war—a

war to preserve the balance of power in Europe by preventing Russia from crushing Turkey; but Russia gave it a religious aspect, as if the existence of the orthodox faith were imperilled. A correspondence betwixt the Emperor of France and the Emperor of Russia took place a short time previous to the declaration of war: the French Emperor proposing that Russia and Turkey should appoint two plenipotentiaries, who should agree upon a convention to be submitted to the other powers; but that previous to this, an armistice should by signed, and the Russian troops withdrawn from the Principalities, and the Allied fleets from the Black Sea. The czar's reply was non-effective to the maintenance of peace; he requiring the withdrawal of the fleets from the Black Sea, before the Russian troops were withdrawn from the Principalities; and that Turkey should send an ambassador to St. Petersburg to sue for peace.

Another effort, of a rather singular character, was made to preserve peace. Three members of the Society of Friends, Henry Pease, of Darlington; Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, and Robert Charlton, of Bristol, on the 20th of January, set out on a journey to St. Petersburg, which, after much toil and difficulty, they reached, had an audience with the Emperor, who received them courteously; and endeavoured by all the means in their power to prevail upon the czar to adopt some other means to heal the wounds between him and the other sovereigns, than that of bloodshed. They had taken a long journey on a fruitless errand; the czar refused to comply with their request.

To return to public affairs: soon after the withdrawal of the ambassadors, the czar issued a manifesto, stating in his own way how matters stood; how anxious he was to maintain peace; throwing all the blame upon Turkey and the Western Powers; boasting of the prowess of the Russian arms in former contests; and finally appealing to the Almighty to assist them in combating for their persecuted brethren, followers of the

faith of Christ; calling upon all Russia to exclaim—"O Lord, our Redeemer, whom shall we fear? May God be glorified, and his enemies scattered!"

This manifesto caused an unpleasant feeling throughout Western Europe; it so palpably showed that Russia was determined to rouse up the religious fanaticism of its millions of serfs in support of the czar's views, and to create in their minds implacable hostility against Western Europe.

We will now give the declaration of war by England in full, as an official record of the circumstances which led to the war:—

"It is with deep regret that Her Majesty announces the failure of her anxious and protracted endeavours to preserve for her people and for Europe the blessings of peace.

"The unprovoked aggression of the Emperor of Russia against the Sublime Porte has been persisted in with such disregard of consequences, that after the rejection by the Emperor of Russia, of terms which the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, and the King of Prussia, as well as Her Majesty, considered just and equitable, Her Majesty is compelled by a sense of what is due to the honour of her crown, to the interests of her people, and to the independence of the states of Europe, to come forward in defence of an ally whose territory is invaded, and whose dignity and independence are assailed.

"Her Majesty, in justification of the course she is about to pursue, refers to the transactions in which Her Majesty has been engaged.

"The Emperor of Russia had some cause of complaint against the Sultan with reference to the settlement, which His Highness had sanctioned, of the conflicting claims of the Greek and Latin Churches, of a portion of the Holy Places of Jerusalem and its neighbourhood. To the complaint of the Emperor of Russia on this head, justice was done, and Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople had the satisfaction of

promoting an arrangement, to which no exception was taken by the Russian Government.

"But, while the Russian Government repeatedly assured the Government of Her Majesty, that the mission of Prince Menschikoff to Constantinople was exclusively directed to the settlement of the question of the Holy Places at Jerusalem, Prince Menschikoff himself pressed upon the Porte other demands of a far more serious and important character, the nature of which he in the first instance endeavoured, as far as possible, to conceal from Her Majesty's Ambassador. And these demands, thus studiously concealed, affected, not the privileges of the Greek Church at Jerusalem, but the position of many millions of Turkish subjects in their relations to their sovereign the Sultan.

"These demands were rejected by the spontaneous decision of the Sublime Porte.

"Two assurances had been given to Her Majesty—one, that the mission of Prince Menschikoff only regarded the Holy Places; the other, that his mission would be of a conciliatory character.

"In both respects Her Majesty's just expectations were disappointed.

"Demands were made which, in the opinion of the Sultan, extended to the substitution of the Emperor of Russia's authority for his own over a large portion of his subjects, and those demands were enforced by a threat; and when Her Majesty learned that on announcing the termination of his mission, Prince Menschikoff declared that the refusal of his demands would impose upon the Imperial Government the necessity of seeking a guarantee by its own power, Her Majesty thought proper that her fleet should leave Malta, and, in co-operation with that of His Majesty the Emperor of the French, take up its station in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles.

"So long as the negotiation bore an amicable character, Her Majesty refrained from any demonstration

of force. But when, in addition to the assemblage of large military forces on the frontier of Turkey, the Ambassador of Russia intimated that serious consequences would ensue from the refusal of the Sultan to comply with unwarrantable demands, Her Majesty deemed it right, in conjunction with the Emperor of the French, to give an unquestionable proof of her determination to support the sovereign rights of the Sultan.

"The Russian Government has maintained that the determination of the Emperor to occupy the Principalities was taken in consequence of the advance of the fleets of England and France. But the menace of invasion of the Turkish territory was conveyed in Count Nesselrode's note to Redschid Pasha of the 19th (31st) of May, and re-stated in his despatch to Baron Brunow of the 20th May (1st June,) which announced the determination of the Emperor of Russia to order his troops to occupy the Principalities, if the Porte did not immediately comply with the demands of Russia.

"The despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, authorising him in certain specified contingencies to send for the British fleet, was dated the 31st of May, and the order sent direct from England to Her Majesty's Admiral to proceed to the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles was dated the 2nd of June.

"The determination to occupy the Principalities was therefore taken before the orders for the advance of the combined squadrons were given.

"The Sultan's Minister was informed, that unless he signed within a week, and without the change of a word, the Note proposed to the Porte by Prince Menschikoff on the eve of his departure from Constantinople, the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia would be occupied by Russian troops. The Sultan could not accede to so insulting a demand; but when the actual occupation of the Principalities took place,

the Sultan did not, as he might have done in the exercise of his undoubted right, declare war, but addressed a protest to his Allies.

"Her Majesty, in conjunction with the sovereigns of Austria, France, and Prussia, has made various attempts to meet any just demands of the Emperor of Russia without affecting the dignity and independence of the Sultan; and had it been the sole object of Russia to obtain security for the enjoyment by the Christian subjects of the Porte of their privileges and immunities, she would have found it in the offers that have been made by the Sultan. But, as that security was not offered in the shape of a special and separate stipulation with Russia, it was rejected. Twice has this offer been made by the Sultan, and recommended by the Four Powers—once by a Note originally prepared at Vienna, and subsequently modified by the Porte; once by the proposal of bases of negotiation agreed upon at Constantinople on the 31st of December, and approved at Vienna on the 13th of January—as offering to the two parties the means of arriving at an understanding in a becoming and honourable manner.

"It is thus manifest that a right for Russia to interfere in the ordinary relations of Turkish subjects to their Sovereign, and not the happiness of Christian communities in Turkey, was the object sought for by the Russian Government. To such a demand the Sultan would not submit, and His Highness, in self-defence, declared war upon Russia; but Her Majesty, nevertheless, in conjunction with her Allies, has not ceased her endeavours to restore peace between the contending parties.

"The time has, however, now arrived when—the advice and remonstrances of the Four Powers having proved wholly ineffectual, and the military preparations of Russia becoming daily more extended—it is but too obvious that the Emperor of Russia has en-

tered upon a course of policy which, if unchecked, must lead to the destruction of the Ottoman Empire.

"In this conjuncture, Her Majesty feels called upon, by regard for an ally, the integrity and independence of whose empire have been recognised as essential to the peace of Europe, by the sympathies of her people with right against wrong, by a desire to avert from her dominions most injurious consequences, and to save Europe from the preponderance of a Power which has violated the faith of treaties, and defies the opinion of the civilised world, to take up arms, in conjunction with the Emperor of the French, for the defence of the Sultan.

"Her Majesty is persuaded that in so acting she will have the cordial support of her people; and that the pretext of zeal for the Christian religion will be used in vain to cover an aggression undertaken in disregard of its holy precepts, and of its pure and beneficent spirit.

"Her Majesty humbly trusts that her efforts may be successful, and that, by the blessing of Providence, peace may be re-established on safe and solid foundations.

"*Westminster, March* 28, 1854."

As has been before stated, the English and French governments invariably maintained the political character of the contest,—particularly England, who had no interest whatever with the question of the Holy Places, except as a friend willing and ready to heal the wounds of all parties, had that been possible. The foregoing declaration clearly sets forth the purport of the war. Lord Palmerston, in a speech which he made soon after the accession of Alexander II. to the throne of Russia, alluded in energetic terms to the aggressive policy pursued by Russia from Peter the Great down to the present czar; and declared that the time was come when this policy must be curbed. In another speech he animadverted strongly on the prevarication

and falsehood which characterised the statements of the Russian minister. Lord John Russell also delivered similar sentiments on the conduct of Russia.

These views and opinions accorded in a great measure with those of the nation at large; but we regret that a firm attitude was not always maintained by government towards the disturber of the peace of Europe.

On the 15th of April a convention was ratified between England and France, in which they mutually agreed to maintain the integrity of the Turkish dominions, by their united efforts; and stipulated rules by which they would be governed in carrying on the war.

The following instructions were sent by England and France, to all consuls, and colonial governors, naval commanders, &c., belonging to each nation:—"It is a necessary consequence of the strict union and alliance which exists between Great Britain and France, that, in the event of war, their conjoint action should be felt by Russia in all parts of the world; that not only in the Baltic, and in the waters and territory of Turkey, their counsels, their armies, and their fleets, should be united either for offensive or defensive purposes against Russia, but that the same spirit of union should prevail in all quarters of the world; and that, whether for offence or defence, the civil and military and naval resources of the British and French Empires should be directed to the common objects of protecting the subjects and commerce of England and France from Russian aggression, and of depriving the Russian government of the means of inflicting injury on either. For these reasons, Her Majesty's government have agreed with that of His Majesty the Emperor of the French, to instruct their civil and naval authorities in foreign parts to consider their respective subjects as having an equal claim to protection against Russian hostility; and for this purpose, either singly or in conjunction with each other, to act indifferently for the

upport and defence of British and French interests. t may be that, in a given locality, one only of the pow- ers is represented by a civil functionary, or by a naval ; but in such a case, the influence and the power that one must be exerted as zealously and effici- ntly for the protection of the subjects and interests f the other, as if those subjects and interests were its wn."

So acted England and France; with regard to Aus- ria and Prussia, the attitude they assumed towards Russia was far less definite. They entered into a con- vention betwixt themselves, certainly, but that convent- ion did not bind either to take up arms against Rus- ia, but merely stipulated their agreement to assist ach other in maintaining the integrity of their own ominions, and Germany generally, whether attacked y Russia, or any other power.

It is peculiarly gratifying to notice the sympathy nd good-will which were manifested by our colonial ossessions generally towards England and France at his time. Numerous loyal addresses were transmit- ed to the mother-country from Canada, New Bruns- ick, Newfoundland, Barbadoes, Grenada, Gibraltar, New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, South Aus- alia, New Zealand, &c.

Numerous were the Declarations, Proclamations, nd Orders in Council, issued by the government, from ebruary to April, relating to the prohibitions, &c. con- ected with the shipping.

CHAPTER IV.

PRELIMINARY OPERATIONS—EMBARKATION OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH TROOPS AND MATERIAL TO THE EAST—STRATEGY AND INSTRUCTIONS OF THE FRENCH EMPEROR—MALTA—GALLIPOLI—SOUTARI—CONSTANTINOPLE—VARNA—OPERATIONS ON THE BLACK SEA—BOMBARDMENT OF ODESSA—LOSS OF THE TIGER, ETC.

FEW, who took an active part in the great struggle which prevailed in Europe, during several years at the commencement of the present century, are now connected with the British army; yet there are a few. And now, how changed the scene and the circumstances! Then, Englishmen and Frenchmen stood opposed to each other in deadly fight; bitter animosity rankling in the bosom of each. Now, the stolid and resolute Englishman grasps the hand of the light-hearted and brave Frenchman, and mutually they fraternise side by side in the conflict of protecting the weak against the strong and overbearing. What a great and glorious contrast! Long may the alliance betwixt these two great powers continue! And may the Almighty avert any untoward circumstance ever severing it!

England had enjoyed so many years of peace; and during those years had been so materially reducing her warlike establishment, both in the army and navy, that she was indifferently prepared to enter upon a great war. However, operations were commenced; and the first part of these operations related to the strategical plans. After due consideration, it was resolved that both powers should despatch fleets to the Baltic and Black Sea; that both should send armies to Turkey, there to be employed as circumstances should suggest: and that the forces of both powers

should act together—sharing the cost and dangers equally—earning equally any glory which might accrue from the struggle—and contributing equally to the liberation of Turkey from the trammels of Russia, and Europe generally from the baneful influence of the czar's power.

Sir J. Burgoyne and other distinguished engineer officers were sent out to Turkey, in order to reconnoitre and arrange proper situations for the reception and location of the army.

Though the navy of this country may be considered the most powerful arm of the service, yet, in 1854, the transport service was in a woefully inefficient state. Government, therefore, being almost wholly unprovided with the means of transport to the East, tenders were sought from such shipowners as would undertake the service. In order to greater expedition, steamers were selected in preference to sailing vessels; and for this reason a great amount of steam-power was called into immediate use. But this was found to be so costly, that sailing-vessels were made use of for transporting the artillery and heavy stores. During the month of February, the Admiralty was required to furnish means for transporting 509 officers, 10,933 men, 272 women, 42 children, 1598 horses, 750 tons of camp equipage, 350 tons of baggage, 989 tons of ordnance, 1088 tons of provisions. This may appear a small army, yet there was an enormous weight of material belonging to it; and when it is considered that this had to be transported a distance of 3,000 miles to reach the Black Sea, it will be seen that it was no light undertaking. The government afterwards purchased two noble steamers, the *Himalaya* and the *Prince*, belonging to the Peninsular and Oriental Steam-navigation Company.

At the commencement of the year 1854, the British army, besides the Guards composing the Household Brigade, consisted nominally of 100 regiments of the line, including the rifle brigade, together with 8 local corps.

The cavalry, including 7 regiments of dragoon-guards, made up 28 regiments. The artillery numbered 14 battalions. The 28 regiments of dragoons, light dragoons, dragoon-guards, hussars, and lancers, together with the horse-guards and 2 regiments of life-guards, supplied about 12,500 sabres; the regiments of the line, with the grenadiers, coldstreams, fusileers, and rifles, amounted to about 105,000 infantry. Making allowance for certain deductions, the effective army, at the end of 1853, barely exceeded 100,000. It was augmented, however, shortly before the commencement of the war, by 10,000 and 15,000; and in that state it consisted of 4600 commissioned officers, and 128,000 non-commissioned officers and privates.

The English portion of the Allied Army was placed under the command of Lord Raglan, who, as Lord Fitzroy Somerset, had during many years been military secretary to the Duke of Wellington. The Duke of Cambridge, the Earls of Cardigan and Lucan, Generals Brown, Evans, England, Bentinck, Scarlett, Campbell, and Pennefather, were among the chief officers appointed to the expedition.

There was great excitement when the various regiments began to leave the shores of Old England for their destination in the East. So long a period had elapsed since the din and turmoil of war had been heard in England, that a new generation had sprung up, whose knowledge of the costs and horrors of warfare was little other than traditionary. Two months elapsed before any cavalry left England, for it was doubtful whether it would be transported through France, or round by way of Gibraltar; but the infantry began to depart at the end of February—a month before the actual declaration of war. As regiment after regiment embarked, cheers, tears, good wishes, high hopes, accompanied them. The Fusileers, quartered in the Tower, were among the first to depart; and when the cavalcade, headed by the band playing inspiriting airs, emerged from the old fortress, and

threaded its way through the busy streets of the metropolis, countless thousands watched and greeted the soldiers as they passed—not that all understood the real nature of the quarrel which was to issue in battling; for many of the soldiers could never comprehend why they were called upon to fight against an emperor, merely because that emperor had behaved wrongfully towards the sultan. Setting politics aside, however, the troops, actuated by an *esprit de corps*, departed cheerfully for the East, resolved to maintain the honour of their flag and country in any contests in which they might be engaged. Southampton was one of the chief ports of departure: and the military value of railways was fully experienced in the facility with which troops were conveyed from London and the heart of England to that port. Cork was the chief place of embarkation for the troops despatched from Ireland. Liverpool was another scene of active operations. The embarkation of the 88th was one only among many exciting scenes which that town displayed during the early spring. The regiment arrived at Liverpool by railway from Preston, and marched through the streets to the landing-stage. The troops were in high spirits; but there was the usual drawback to their enthusiasm. "A number of women, the wives and sweethearts of the men, were taking their adieus; and it was most painful to witness their unrestrained grief, and the efforts of the men to comfort them. A few minutes before one o'clock, the order was given to march; the band playing several bars of *St. Patrick's Day*, and the multitude cheering heartily as they set out. In defiling through the streets, old men, women, and young boys, jostled with each other, and struggled for the honour of shaking hands with the troops, who were greeted with good wishes from all sides."

The *Ripon* steamer was one of the first which conveyed troops to Malta, on their way to the East. This fine vessel, belonging to the Peninsular and Ori-

ental Steam-navigation Company, made the passage from Southampton to Gibraltar in five days. Each day the men were exercised at Minié-rifle shooting, firing at a target hanging from the end of one of the ship's yards; while in the evening, soldiers and sailors joined in dancing and singing. As with the Grenadiers on board the *Ripon*, so with the Coldstream Guards on board the *Orinoco*, all went well, under the care of the commanders of those vessels. It was on the 22nd of February that these two vessels, accompanied by the *Manilla*, received detatchments of the Household troops at Southampton; and on the 23rd, all three started for Gibraltar, in the midst of a rough sea, which tried the patience and good-humour of the men.

The embarkation of the Highlanders drew together an immense concourse of spectators. From the citadel at Plymouth to the gates of the Royal Victualling Yard, thousands of persons assembled previous to the time fixed for the departure of the regiment; and when the men appeared, the greatest enthusiasm was manifested. The weather was remarkably fine, and numerous boats and small vessels were on the water, filled with gaily-dressed people; the bands of the Royal Marines, and the 20th Regiment, played the rare old Scottish tune of "Auld Lang Syne," and the martial strains of "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled." But amid all the enthusiasm exhibited as the steamers moved off and rounded the point opening into Plymouth Sound, where lay the *Himalaya*, there was much sadness and distress—sorrowful women, whose downcast looks and tearful eyes betokened that it was no high holiday for them.

Malta became a place of much excitement and importance. Steamer after steamer arrived, loaded with troops and war materials, until the island was full to repletion. Valetta, the chief town, became busy as a fair, and the Maltese reaped a rich harvest from their visitors.

France, being more of a military nation than England, had a far larger army ready to enter on a campaign. It was estimated that the French army amounted at this time to 300,000 men, and 60,000 horses; besides a large reserve, that could be made available, if necessary.

The strategical plan marked out by the French government, probably with the consent of their English allies, was contained in the instructions drawn up by the Emperor of the French, for the guidance of Marshal St. Arnaud, to whom the command was given. The principal paragraphs of these instructions, which were dated the 12th of April, 1855, were the following:—

"In placing you, marshal, at the head of a French army, to fight at a distance of more than 600 leagues from our mother-country, my first recommendation is to have a care for the health of the troops, to spare them as much as possible, and to give battle only after having made sure first of, at least, two chances out of three for a favourable result.

"The peninsula of Gallipoli is adopted as the principal point of disembarkation, because it must be, as a strategical point, the basis of our operations—that is to say, the *place d'armes* for our depôts, our ambulances, our provision-stores, and whence we may with facility either advance or re-embark. This will not prevent you on your arrival, should you deem it advisable, from lodging one or two divisions in the barracks which are either to the west of Constantinople or at Scutari.

"As long as you are not in presence of the enemy, the spreading of your troops cannot be attended with inconvenience, and the presence of your troops at Constantinople may produce a good moral effect; but if, perchance, after having advanced towards the Balkan, you should be constrained to beat a retreat, it would be much more advantageous to regain the coast of Gallipoli than that of Constantinople; for the Russians

would never venture to advance from Adrianople upon Constantinople, leaving 60,000 good troops on their right. If, nevertheless, there should be the intention of fortifying the line from Kara-su, in front of Constantinople, it should only be done with the intention of leaving its defence to the Turks alone; for, I repeat it, our position would be more independent, more redoubtable, when on the flanks of the Russian army, than if we were blockaded in the Thracian peninsula.

"This first point established, and the Anglo-French army once united on the shores of the Sea of Marmora, you must concert measures with Omar Pacha and Lord Raglan for the adoption of one of the three following plans:—

"1. Either to advance to meet the Russians on the Balkan.

"2. Or to seize upon the Crimea.

"3. Or to land at Odessa, or on any other point of the Russian coast of the Black Sea.

"In the first case, Varna appears to me the most important point to be occupied. The infantry might be taken there by sea, and the cavalry more easily, perhaps, by land. On no account ought the army to go too far from the Black Sea, so as to be always sure of free communication with its fleet.

"In the second case, that of the occupation of the Crimea, the place of landing must first be made sure of, that it may take place at a distance from the enemy, and that it may be speedily fortified, so as to serve as a *point d'appui* to fall back upon in case of a retreat.

"The capture of Sebastopol must not be attempted without at least half a siege-train and a great number of sand-bags. When within reach of the place, do not omit seizing upon Balaklava, a little port situated about four leagues south of Sebastopol, and by means of which easy communications may be kept up with the fleet during the siege.

"In the third case, my principal recommendation is —never to divide your army; to march always with all your troops united, for 40,000 compact men, ably commanded, are always an imposing force; divided, on the contrary, they are nothing.

"If compelled, on account of scarcity of provisions, to divide the army, do so in such manner as always to be able to unite it on one point within twenty-four hours.

"If, when marching, you form different columns, establish a common rallying-point at some distance from the enemy, that none of them may be attacked singly.

"If you drive back the Russians, do not go beyond the Danube, unless the Austrians enter the lists.

"As a general rule, every movement must be concerted with the English Commander-in-chief. There are only certain exceptional cases, where the safety of the army might be concerned, when you might act on your own resolution."

The French Southampton and Liverpool were Toulon and Marseilles in the stirring spring of 1854. The French, being much more *au fait* in military matters than the English, proceeded in their plans systematically and quickly. About the end of March the embarkation commenced; 20,000 troops and a large number of horses were despatched on board 25 or 26 vessels, the whole of them sailing within a few days of each other; and other contingents took their departure at a later date. The men were generally despatched from Toulon, the cavalry horses, munitions, provisions, and camp material, from Marseilles.

By an arrangement between the two governments, Malta was adopted as a midway resting-place for a part of the French troops, in addition to the English who had arrived; and thus the island became still more animated and bustling. The *Christophe Colomb* and *Mistral*, which had left France on the 19th March, arrived at Malta on the 23rd, bringing

Generals Canrobert, Bosquet, and Martemprey, about 50 other officers, and 800 or 900 soldiers. It was a singular scene to the men. Malta had perhaps never before been visited by English and French troops at the same time, except during the heat and strife of war; and the soldiers now gazed upon each other with surprise. The dress of the Highland regiments was a strange garb to the eyes of the French troops, while the Arab-like Zouaves of the French was no less surprising to the English. But these feelings soon gave way to enthusiasm; for the troops "fraternised" with each other in a cordial and hearty manner, and the national anthems, *God save the Queen*, and *Partant pour la Syrie*, were exchanged from ship to ship, and band to band, in complimentary style. The Zouaves were originally a tribe of Arabs, in or near the regency of Algeria. When the French took possession of that country, some of the Zouaves consented to join their army; and, being fearless, active, and dashing fellows, they became great favourites: young Parisians joined their corps, though in distinct companies; and by degrees there was formed a regular branch of infantry under the name of Zouaves—French in composition but Arab in dress—and suited for a particular kind of service in active warfare.

The stay of the French troops at Malta was nearly temporary, a day or two, and then they would proceed on their voyage. The beginning of April found French as well as English soldiers tossing on a frequently boisterous sea, towards the Dardanelles. The officers reached their destination in many ways—some *via* Marseilles and Malta, some by the way of Vienna and Trieste, while others took the sea-route from Southampton to Gibraltar and the Levant.

A strange scene was presented to the Turks when the Allies took possession of Gallipoli. This place had been chosen rather hastily, it was thought, as the centre of operations, or, at all events, as the depôt for the expeditionary French and English forces.

a miserable den, a horrible conglomeration of dirty slipshod Turks, dirty Jews, and cunning Greeks; and is situated on the European side of the Dardanelles, at the nearest extremity of the strait, just where it commences to expand into the Sea of Marmora.

From the sea Gallipoli looks like a congregation of red-roofed barns. It is a place much exposed to the sun, but the camping ground beneath the hills is considered healthy, while it is an excellent spot in relation to the defence of Constantinople, where the army could be transported with extreme celerity. But it is not a place fitted to be a centre of action. It is almost on the narrowest portion of the spot of land which, running between the Gulf of Saros on the west and the Dardanelles on the east, forms the western side of the strait. An army encamped here commands the Egean and the Sea of Marmora, and could be easily marched northward to the Balkan, or despatched to Asia or Constantinople. Besides, it is a bad place to obtain provisions, fodder, and horses. Food is dear, and the collection of so large a body of men in so poor a district is inconvenient.

The French, who are the best foragers in the world, having arrived first at Gallipoli, were at once actively engaged in looking up the good things of this earth. They chose the Turkish quarter which is friendly; while the English were put in the Greek quarter, filled by a population burning with hatred for Turks and all friends of Turks.

Following up the search for lodgings, the newly arrived from England or France must hunt up water; and such is the scarcity of attendants, that we are credibly informed, on the very best authority, that the correspondent of the *Times* was seen walking up the street to his residence with a sheep's liver on a stick, some lard in his hand, and a loaf of black bread under his arm. Butter there is none, meat but little, fish unknown, wine good, and eggs come in great plenty. The French, however, at once established coffee-

houses, restaurants, etc., which was a great convenience to the officers. They enjoyed great advantage from the fact that the local languages are better understood by them than by us. They also had the advantage of choice of situation and the usual reward of being "first come." They are, moreover, not so strictly particular as the British, and under any difficulties try the effect of kicks and blows rather freely upon the natives. "Sometimes our servant," says an Englishman, "is sent out to cater for breakfast or dinner—he returns with the usual, 'Me and the colonel's servants have been all over the town, and can get nothing but eggs and onions, sir,'—and behold round the corner appears a red-breeched Zouave, or chasseur, a bottle of wine under his left arm, half a lamb under the other, and finally, fish and other luxuries dangling round him—'I'm sure I don't know how these French in Algiers have got used to this sort of thing. They have published a tariff of prices, which the natives know nothing about; but that is no matter. A chasseur sees a fowl, he snatches hold of it, gives the owner a franc, and without caring for his rage and fury, marches off and devours his prize. The English pay dearer for everything and can get no poultry at all. But it is already certain that the English will be more popular than the French, from this very consideration of character. The French have little respect for the dead, and they have already outraged the feelings of Gallipoli by making a road through a cemetery, knocking down tombstones, turning up skulls, and scoffing over their work with pipes in their mouths. The natty little vivandiers are of considerable use to the French army."

By the 21st of April there were 23,000 French and 5000 English soldiers in the peninsula, cooped up in quarters ill prepared for their reception. Gallipoli presented at that time a motley spectacle to the troops which successively arrived. The elements of the East and the West were there, mingled in utter confusion.

The English officers and men complained strongly of the privations and discomforts to which they were subjected. Rustum Pasha, the Turkish governor, effected all that good-will could accomplish; but he could not render Gallipoli suddenly capable of accommodating twice its ordinary number of inmates.

At a later period, when complaints reached the home-government, flat contradictions were frequently given in parliament concerning their truth; and it appears that if the government machinery had been fitted for harmonious working, many of the discomforts *ought* not to have been experienced; but it was the want of harmony which lay at the root of the evil. The Duke of Newcastle, when examined before the Sabastopol Committee, was asked whether, in his capacity as minister of war, he had sought information as to the capabilities of Turkey to furnish supplies for the wants of the army, to which he replied:—

"Directions were given to the commissariat officers, who were sent out at the very commencement—on the 7th or 8th of February. Inquiries as to the capabilities of the country were not, in the first instance, made in Bulgaria, but were confined to Roumelia—the first object being to send troops to Gallipoli. Commissary-general Smith was sent from Corfu, he being to a certain extent acquainted with the languages of the East, Greek and Italian. He had provided, I believe, generally speaking, sufficient supplies before the arrival of any troops at all at Gallipoli. It was in consequence of the recommendation of Sir J. Burgoyne, on strategical grounds, that Gallipoli was occupied; that officer's opinion being confirmed by that of Colonel Ardent, who had been sent by the Emperor of the French for a similar purpose.

"What steps were taken to prepare for the reception of troops at Gallipoli?—Instructions were given to the commissariat, who were informed of the number of troops for whom they would have to provide.

"Did you receive information that they had provided for the wants of the army when it came?—I did not receive any such information from the commissariat directly. It was not then under me. The commissariat corresponded with the Treasury, and from the latter department I re-

ceived information of its movements. I should say vast supplies of all kinds were sent from England.

"What supplies did you expect to find in the country where the army was to be sent?—Principally fresh meat, and, of course, bread to the greatest extent to which it could be obtained. In apprehension of the possibility of the supply of bread there failing, a large supply of biscuit was sent out from this country.

"As to forage for horses?—I considered that ought to be provided in that country, but provision was nevertheless made for sending out provision from England. I apprehend none of that hay was landed at Gallipoli, as it was sent from here in sailing-vessels, which would not arrive until after the troops had left Gallipoli. No cavalry was landed at that place.

"But the infantry had all their wants supplied at Gallipoli?—At first there were complaints: but, to the best of my recollection, more of want of transport than of provisions."

Many letters from officers and men found their way into the newspapers: one of which we present as a specimen of most of the others:—

"CAMP, GALLIPOLI, *April* 18.

"Our encampment is very wretched, and hardly anything except the men's rations to be got to eat; no beer, or anything but rum—"one gill," the same as the men. The commissariat is dreadfully managed: nothing of any sort. The French have everything—horses, provisions, good tents, and every kind of protection against contingencies. To-morrow morning, we march at six o'clock to another encamping-ground, where we are to throw up trenches, and remain two months; it is about seven miles from this place; the ground is beautifully situated, overlooking the Bay of Gallipoli. It would be a good lesson for some of our government to take a lesson from the French: the care and attention paid to their troops are perfect. I had to purchase a mule, and pay £11 for him. Everything is dear. I cannot get any tea to drink; I should have found it a great comfort. The streets are horrible and the town is bad. I never saw anything to equal it anywhere. We are all obliged to sit on the ground, and eat what we can. My breakfast consists of a piece of brown bread—no butter, and no milk: and till yesterday our men got no breakfast. We get eggs, and they are the only things to stand by at pre-

sent, as the meat served out is so bad no one can touch it. We have no potatoes, or any other kind of vegetables, except onions. It is really more than a joke, and all owing to the very bad manager ent of our commissariat department."

Thus we see that the commissariat, whether in fault or not, had to bear the burden of censure—a burden which those officers felt to be exceedingly unjust. A private in one of the regiments wrote home thus: "The French are one hundred years in advance of us in regard to military equipments for the field. We are loaded like packhorses, with our knapsacks, cross-belts, with sixty rounds of ammunition, haversack, and an article termed a 'canteen,' shaped like a butter firkin, which would wear out a pair of trowsers in a month. We were nicely fooled at home as to getting all the things furnished to us at about cost-price. We were to get the best London porter at 4d. per quart—I have not seen a drop of porter since I came here." This "London porter" grievance was bitterly dwelt upon by the men; owing to clumsy management, the casks of porter were far away from the spot where the beverage was needed.

The principal portion of the army remained idle for several weeks in and near Gallipoli. This idleness was, however, not shared in by the sappers and engineers, who were employed in forming a series of field-works and intrenchments across the peninsula. English and French troops worked in turn to construct these works. The French camp was not far distant from that of the English; and there was daily rounds of visitings between the troops of the two nations. The novelty of the alliance raised a doubt in the minds of some concerning the light in which the soldiers would regard each other; and Lord Raglan judged it prudent to issue the following order:—

"The commander of the forces avails himself of the earliest opportunity to impress upon the army the necessity of maintaining the strictest discipline; of re-

specting persons and property, and the laws and usages of the country they have been sent to aid and defend; particularly avoiding to enter mosques, churches, and the private dwellings of a people whose habits are peculiar and unlike those of other nations of Europe. Lord Raglan fully relies on the generals and other officers of the army to afford him their support in the suppression of disorders; and he confidently hopes that the troops themselves, anxious to support the character they have acquired elsewhere, will endeavour to become the examples of obedience, order, and of attention to discipline, without which success is impossible, and there would be evil instead of advantage to those whose cause their sovereign has deemed it proper to espouse. The army will, for the first time, be associated with an ally to whom it has been the lot of the British nation to be opposed in the field for many centuries. The gallantry and high military qualities of the French armies are matters of history; and the alliance which has now been formed will, the commander of the forces trusts, be of long duration, as well as productive of the most important and the happiest results. Lord Raglan is aware, from personal communication with the distinguished general who is appointed to command the French army, Marshal St. Arnaud, and many of the superior officers, that every disposition exists through their ranks to cultivate the best understanding with the British army, and to co-operate most warmly with it. He entertains no doubt that Her Majesty's troops are animated with the same spirit, and that the just ambition of each army will be to acquire the confidence and good opinion of each other."

Any doubt on this matter was speedily dispelled; the troops greeted each other heartily on all occasions; and, indeed, the "fraternisation" was at times so excessive, that a Zouave and a Highlander on one occasion partially exchanged dresses under the influence of an exhilarating cup, and appeared at muster the next morning in strange motley—kilt and baggy red trousers having changed places.

The residence of the troops at and near Gallipoli, gave abundant evidence that the French are far better foragers than the English; for the French hunted for eggs, caught tortoises, gathered herbs, and made "pottages" which perfectly astonished their Anglican neighbours.

Gallipoli having been found insufficient for the accommodation of all the allied forces, the English, with the exception of 5,000, were sent to Scutari, where the Turkish government had provided for their reception.

The town of Scutari, which is well fortified, is the capital of a pashalic in Albania, one of the most important in European Turkey. It contains a strong citadel on a solitary rock, several mosques, and some Roman Catholic and Greek churches. The greater part of the population are members of the Greek church, and are presided over by a bishop of that church. There is also a Roman Catholic bishop in the place.

Scutari is built in a straggling manner upon uneven ground. The population is about 20,000. They are chiefly employed in making arms, the manufacture of cotton and woollen goods, fishing, timber trade, and the building of small vessels. Near Scutari is the lake of Scutario, about sixteen miles long, and from three to five broad. It is by means of the vessels which ascend the river Bojano to this lake that a great part of the trade of the place is carried on. Scutari occupies the site of the ancient Scodra, the capital of Illyria in the time of King Gentius, which afterwards became a colony of the Roman Empire. When Sir John Hobhouse was on his travels in Albania, about thirty years ago, the power of the chief resident at Scutari was very considerable.

A correspondent wrote the following short note to one of the papers, on the 25th of May:—

"I have just been to see the camp of the English at Scutari, and have took notice of their costume.

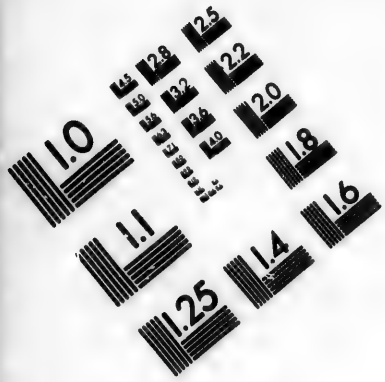
The officers have rather more of a free-and-easy air about them than accords with very strict notions of military discipline. Whatever complaints may be made of the choking stock, tight buttoning, and the heavy encumbrances of the private soldier, nothing of the sort is applicable to the costume of the officer. On the whole, I am happy to say the English forces are admirably equipped. The camps are pitched in an excellent position, and well supplied with everything needful for health and comfort. If there is a little freedom of manner allowed, it is not carried to an improper extent. While the men are indulged as far as circumstances will permit, they are still kept in perfect discipline and order."

A brief description of Constantinople will not be out of place here.

Constantinople proper is situated on a triangular tongue of land at the south-western outlet of the Thracian Bosphorus. This tongue of land is formed by an arm of the sea, which stretches from this narrow strait almost a mile inland, the northern part being the so-called Golden Horn, the harbour of Constantinople, and the southern shores of the peninsula on which the city stands being washed by the Sea of Marmora. Accordingly the western side of Constantinople stands in connexion with the Thracian mainland, whilst eastward it stretches between the two bodies of water last mentioned, to where the waves of the Golden Horn, the Bosphorus, and the Sea of Marmora mingle together.

This powerful quarter of Constantinople, has a circumference of nearly eleven and a half miles, and is surrounded on the land side by a triple wall, built in the Byzantine times, and partly restored by the Turks. This wall is pierced by twenty-eight gates, and nine smaller entrances. Through one of these gates, formerly called the gate of St. Romanus, and now Stop-Kapusi, or Cannon-gate, the Turks first rushed when they captured Constantinople on the 29th of May, 1453.

There are fifteen suburbs to Constantinople, the most celebrated of which are Galata, Pera, Tophavna, Scutari, and Kadikoi. Constantinople proper is built in the form of terraces, on account of the hilly nature of the ground, and accordingly presents especially on the side towards the Golden Horn, where numerous mills come very prominently into view, a striking and picturesque appearance with its countless gardens, mosques, palaces, minarets, and towers, which closer inspection, to be sure, is only the more disenchanting from the meanness and filth which it discloses, even although of late better buildings have been erected, many of which are of stone. The most remarkable edifices are the old and new seraglios (both of them imperial palaces); the mosque of St. Sophia, formerly the church of St. Sophia: the mosques of Soliman, Achmed, Mohammed, Mahmoud, Selim, Bajazet, Osman, and the little church of St. Sophia; the castle of Seven Towers, where, formerly, when the Porte was involved in war with foreign powers, the ambassadors of these powers were received in order to secure them from popular violence; the obelisks of the ancient Hippodrome, the greatest of the public squares in Constantinople, called by the Turks, Atmeidan. The castle of the Seven Towers now serves as an arsenal and powder-magazine. Amongst the monuments may further be mentioned the two great aqueducts, built by the emperors Valens and Justinian; several great reservoirs, including the Cisterna Basilica, with 336 columns, still in good preservation, and the Cistern of Philoxenus, with 224 marble columns; and lastly, the remains of the Byzantine imperial palace, Magnaura. Of the numerous columns of ancient Constantinople there are still preserved that of Constantine, that of Theodosius in the garden of the Seraglio, and that of Marcian. In the suburb of Cassim Pasha is the palace of the Capitan Pasha, and the great arsenal with its magazines and dockyards. The suburb of Galata, inhabited by the European merchants, is the staple place of trade, and



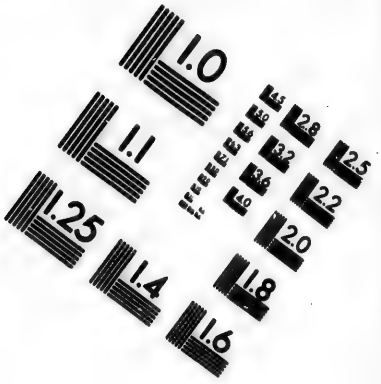
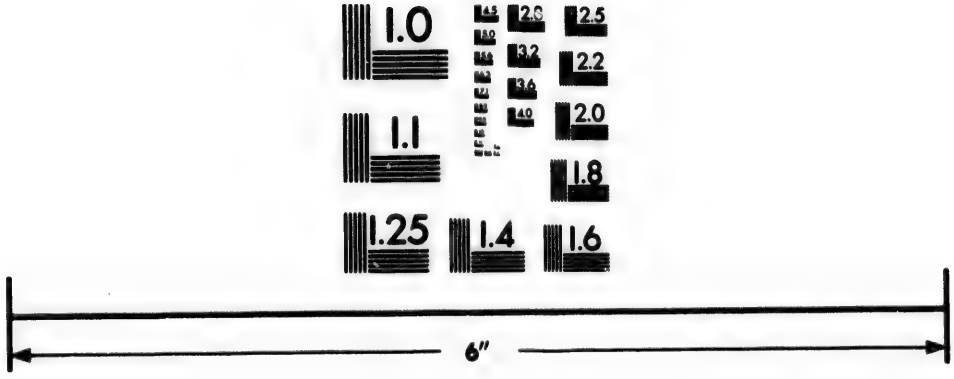
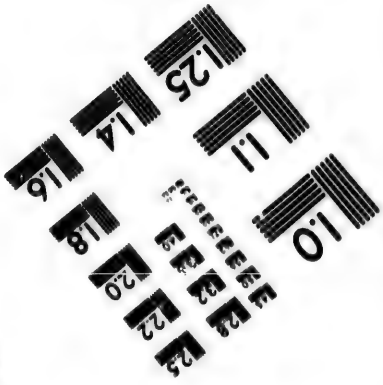


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)





Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

contains many strongly-built warehouses and residences. Here also stands the lofty and beautiful lighthouse, whence there is an extensive prospect over land and sea. With the suburbs of Cassim Pasha, Constantinople is joined by three bridges. On the Bosphorus lies Top-Kahana, with the imperial cannon-foundry, a beautiful mosque built by Mahmoud II., and an elegant fountain. On the mountain which lies in the rear of this suburb, Pera is built, the ambassadors' quarter, with its fine and magnificent palaces. Here the various elegancies of the west are combined—a good Italian Opera, splendid and convenient hotels, and sumptuous shops of every kind. Besides the Franks, many Greeks and Armenians reside in Pera. The Greeks also form the principal part of the population of Fanar, a quarter of the city which lies along the harbour, as well as the suburb Dimitri. On the other side of the Bosphorus lies Scutari, in the front of which, on the Bosphorus, is situated the Tower of Leander. It was anciently called Damalit, and was rebuilt in 1143 by Manuel Commenus, in order to part off the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn with iron chains. In Eyub, which is inhabited exclusively by the Turks, is the sepulchre of Eyub, the Prophet's standard-bearer, and a mosque in which every successive sultan is girt with the sword of Osman on his accession—a ceremony which amongst the Turks stands in the place of coronation. In this mosque is also deposited the standard of the prophet, the great palladium of the empire, called in Turkish Sandshak-sherif. On the Bosphorus, moreover, are situated the suburbs Dolmabagdsche and Tscheragen, with the superb palaces of the sultan.

The number of houses in the entire city of Constantinople is about 90,000, that of the inhabitants 800,000, only the half of whom profess the religion of Islam. It contains more than three hundred mosques, fourteen Greek churches, nine Catholic churches, with two chapels, and six monasteries, one Anglican, one Scotch, and

one other Protestant congregation with their chapels, and numerous Jewish synagogues. Of educational institutions, Constantinople has three hundred medresses in which the Ulemas or Turkish clergy are trained—three hundred and ninety-six maktab, or elementary schools, a marine school; an academy in which instruction is given in mathematics, astronomy, and the science of engineering and artillery; an academy of sciences, a school of medicine, a Greek gymnasium, and a veterinary college. The erection of a university is projected. The benevolent institutions, which are very numerous, consist for the most part of provision stores for the poor, called Imarets. The institutions of the Franks consist of a *Societa artigiana di pieta*, a charity for the support of poor workmen; two German, one English, one French, and an Austrian hospital, in which poor sick persons belonging to the several countries are tended and provided for gratuitously. Constantinople has forty public libraries, thirteen of which are Turkish. It numbers three Turkish and several European printing-offices, in which two Turkish, one French, one Greek, one Armenian, one Bulgarian, and several Italian newspapers, are printed. The number of public baths is nearly three thousand. Barracks, guard-houses, bazaars, mosques, warehouses, hospitals, and coffee-houses, are very numerous.

On the 24th of May, being the Queen's birthday, 15,000 British troops were paraded on the outskirts of Scutari, the spectators being a few Turks, who cared sufficiently about it to walk half a mile, and a large number of foreigners from the opposite side of the Bosphorus. Nearly all the principal officers were present, including Lord Raglan, the Duke of Cambridge, the Earl of Lucan, Sir George Brown, Sir De Lacy Evans, Sir Colin Campbell, and Generals Bentinck, Pennefather, Airey, Adams, Buller, &c.

But it was at Constantinople that the gay trappings of war were exhibited in the highest splendour, to the

astonishment and admiration of the Turks. This was a review of the French troops.

The following account is from an eye-witness:—"At nine o'clock in the morning an immense crowd hastened from Constantinople to witness a spectacle so unusual in Turkey. Soon after, the troops began to leave their barracks and take up their respective positions on the vast plain between Daout Pasha and the military hospital of Bami Tachiftilik. They formed into two lines on the road which intersects the plain. It was a sight well worth seeing to observe the movements not merely of the troops, but of the numerous spectators. The Turks, both men and women, kept going among the ranks, and examining with the greatest curiosity the costumes of the soldiers, their arms, and their varied evolutions. Not even the slightest movement escaped their prying observation. The Zouaves from Algeria especially attracted their attention, on account of their Oriental costume. At first they took them for Turks; but when they heard them speak French, they stared with amazement, and went to the Europeans in the crowd, and asked them with a comic sort of simplicity whether the green turbans were really French.

"At about noon Prince Napoleon arrived with a numerous staff of attendant officers, and was the object of much curiosity, on account of the name he bears, as well as the responsible office he fills. An hour after, the *cortege* of the Sultan was seen in the distance. The prince then drew up with his staff to receive him with due honour. The Sultan came mounted on a splendid horse, with Marshal St. Arnaud on his right hand. After them came a numerous and brilliant suite, consisting of officers of the palace and the marshal's staff. The troops immediately presented arms, and the Sultan halted at the head of the line to salute the prince, and, after conversing with him and the marshal for some time, he passed along to witness the review of the troops, which was accompanied by the music of the band of light infantry. Prince Napoleon continu-

ed by the side of Marshal Arnaud. The Sultan passed slowly through all the ranks, stopping every now and then to examine anything that took his attention, and asking questions of the prince and the marshal. He expressed himself highly delighted with the condition and discipline of the troops, and lavished flattering compliments upon their commanders.

"After having carefully observed everything, the Sultan retired to a magnificent tent which had been prepared for his reception. There the lady of Marshal St. Arnaud was presented to him, and received from him every possible mark of attention and respect. Shortly afterwards the troops defiled in front of the tent, under the command of Prince Napoleon. Then came a battalion of Turkish infantry, a squadron of lancers, and two batteries of artillery. When all was over, the Sultan returned to his palace, with Marshal St. Arnaud on his right, and abreast with him. This was the first time that such an honour was ever conferred by any Turkish sovereign, as to allow another to accompany him side by side, and on a level with him. Usually, those who ride with him are a little in advance or behind. It is also the first time that a Sultan was seen in public, familiarly conversing with Christians. Formerly such a liberty would have been deemed fatal presumption. We cannot but hope that this breakdown of old prejudices and barriers to free communication with Western Europe will be attended with the happiest efforts, not only in Turkey, but also throughout the whole of Europe."

During the stay of the Allied armies at or near Constantinople, many of the Turkish boatmen reaped a rich harvest from the officers belonging to the army. So many courtesies were exchanged between the French officers at Pera, and the English officers at Scutari, that the boatmen were fully employed.

We must now advance a further stage in the proceedings of the Allies, that is, the expedition to Varna. This Turkish seaport is on the western shore of the

Black Sea, about 180 miles from Constantinople, 100 north-east of Adrianople, by land, and 100 south-east of Silistria. The siege of Silistria was taking place at the time when the Allied army arrived at Varna, and it was partly on that account that the army moved to Varna. This town bears a somewhat similar appearance to most others in the Turkish territory—it is crooked, irregular, dirty, dilapidated, and unfitted for the accommodation of either visitors or the carrying on of mercantile transactions. Thus the Allies found it when necessitated to make it a temporary military residence.

The first division of British troops which reached Varna, consisted of the 7th and 23rd Fusileers, the Connaught Rangers, the rifle-brigade, the 33rd, 77th, and 19th—6000 or 7000 men in all.—These troops were assisted in their disembarkation by the boats of the Allied fleets, which were then stationed near Varna. Other portions of the British army arrived at different times, either from Malta or direct from England. The *Himalaya* brought 300 or 400 of the 5th Dragoon Guards, with all their horses, direct from Cork to Varna, in the short space of twelve days. There were three camps of the British army—one near Varna; one at Aladyn, nine or ten miles distant; and a third at Devno or Devna, eighteen or twenty miles inland from Varna. Omar Pasha had provided an immense number of horses, oxen, buffaloes, and carts, to assist in conveying stores and provisions from the shore to the camps.

The troops, when they landed at Varna, did not expect that they were to remain in such an unhealthy situation for seventeen weeks. Some of the more experienced officers entertained doubts respecting the salubrity of the places where the camps were pitched; and when General Canrobert visited the camps afterwards, he expressed an opinion that they were exposed to the liability of malaria, and its attendant agues and fevers.

By the end of June, the neighbourhood of Varna had

become one huge camp of 60,000 English, French, and Turks; while 300 vessels lay in Kavarna Bay, ready to ship English troops from Varna, or French from Baltschik. When the news reached Varna that the siege of Silistria was raised, all hopes of sharing the honour of beating the Russians in that quarter were at an end; and officers and men began to speculate on the future events before them.

Prince Napoleon arrived at Varna in the third week in June, and took the command of one of the French divisions; and fresh acquisitions of English and French troops continued to arrive in the bay. The Duke of Cambridge at first fixed his quarters at Varna, but afterwards camped out near the men of his division.

Great dissatisfaction was manifested by both officers and men belonging to the English army, at the inadequate supplies of almost every requisite necessary for the due performance of military duties. The want of draught-horses or other beasts of burden, was severely felt; and, of course, the commissariat officers fell in for perhaps *more* than their merited share of blame. It is therefore nothing but right that an eye-witness should say a word or two in their defence. The *Times* correspondent at that place wrote:—"A commissariat officer is not made in a day, nor can the most lavish expenditure effect the work of years, or atone for the want of experience. The hardest-working Treasury clerk—and, I must say, they all evince the greatest zeal and most untiring diligence in the discharge of their duties—has necessarily much to learn ere he can become an efficient commissariat-officer in a country which old campaigners declare to be the most difficult they ever were in for procuring supplies. Let those who have any recollections of Chobham, just imagine that famous encampment to be placed about ten miles from the sea, in the midst of a country utterly deserted by the inhabitants, the railways from London stopped up, the supplies by cart or waggon cut off, corn scarce-

ly procurable, carriages impossible, and the only communication between camp and port carried on by means of buffalo and bullock arabas travelling about one and a half mile an hour—and they will be able to form some faint idea of the difficulties of getting the requisite necessaries out here. Besides, here we are absolutely at war—obliged to carry enormous masses of ammunition, as well as tents and tent-equipage, provisions for the men, medical stores, all the various articles and means for cooking, &c., through a country which, to all intents and purposes, is held by enemies (in so far as the Bulgarians hate the Turks). To give you a notion of the requirements of such a body as this army of 25,000 men in the field, I may observe that it was stated to me on good authority the other day, that not less than 13,000 horses and mules would be required for the conveyance of baggage and stores. About twelve o'clock to-day, just as the officers were making preparations for their start to-morrow morning, orders were received countermanding those which had been issued for the march of the division; and it may be inferred, that the difficulties of which I was just writing when the aide-de-camp arrived have been found to be insuperable, and that the commissariat has not been able to provide the means of conveyance for the stores, either of Sir George Brown's or of the Duke of Cambridge's division. To continue my remarks on the nature of these difficulties, I may observe, that not only is it a work of time, labour, and money to find horses, mules, and buffaloes, bullock and arabs carts, required for our march, but that when we get them we cannot keep them. Buffalo and bullock carts and their drivers vanish into thin air in the space of a night. A Bulgarian is a human being after all."

On another occasion the same well-informed authority wrote as follows:—"The report in the camp is, that the commissariat declare themselves unable to comply with the requisitions for moving the division, and that therefore we do not move to-morrow, or probably the

next day. I regret very much to have to state, that for several days last week there was neither rice, nor sugar, nor preserved potatoes, nor tea, nor any substitute for these articles, issued to the men; they had therefore, to make their breakfast simply on ration brown bread and water. The dinners of the men consisted of lean ration-beef boiled in water, and eaten with brown bread, without any seasoning to flavour it. The supplies ran out, and it was no fault of the commissariat that they did so. Who was to blame, I don't pretend to say. No one," it is remarked by the same authority, "unacquainted with the actual requirements of an army, can form an adequate notion of the various duties which devolve upon an English commissariat-officer, or of the enormous quantity of stores required for the daily use of men and horses. In the middle of July, when most of the troops in the English army were quartered at distances varying from ten to twenty miles from Varna, there were required daily for the men, 27,000 pounds of bread, 27,000 pounds of meat, besides rice, tea, coffee, sugar, &c.; and for the horses, 110,000 pounds of corn, chopped straw, &c." Besides being responsible for the supply of these immense quantities, the commissariat-officers were burdened by the strange organisation of the service, with the duty of providing horses, carts, saddles, tents, and interpreters.

But soon a more severe calamity than occasional want of supplies, visited the army. Disease and death began to spread rapidly throughout the camps.

The troops had been stationed generally in accordance with the advice of Omar Pasha, who had been appealed to on the occasion; though in one single instance some troops were located near to a lake, contrary to his advice; hence arose the commencement of that sickness which proved such a scourge to the Allied armies.

In the middle of June slight sickness was experienced throughout the camps. The French were attacked more severely than the English; and the Turks and

Egyptians more severely than either. Numbers of officers, being placed on the sick list, returned home when able to do so. When the heats of July arrived, military ardour was very much damped by disease. The still hotter month of August approached, and sickness increased greatly in the camps. Many were afflicted with cholera; nearly all with diarrhœa. The Duke of Cambridge was among the officers attacked with illness. The First Division, the Light Division, and the Third Division, were all attacked, more or less; and it became a melancholy task for the men to bury their dead companions by dozens and scores. Upon the French, however, the dread disease fell with the greatest severity; and they sank under it at the rate of 60 to 100 per day. A portion of the French army, under General Canrobert, had gone from Varna to the margin of the Dobrudscha; to these were added 2500 Zouaves, who went by sea from Varna to Kustendji; and these unfortunate troops, passing through a marsh where the Russians had left dead men and horses, were struck down by whole companies. Canrobert left nearly 3000 of his hapless troops in that valley of death.

The French generals, amid these disheartening events, roused up the spirit of their troops by animating proclamations, commending in energetic terms their fortitude and endurance; and bidding them look forward to triumphant success in the cause in which they were engaged. Marshal St. Arnaud issued the following spirited document when the troops were about to leave Varna for the Crimea:—

"Soldiers!—You have just given fine examples of perseverance, calmness, and energy, in the midst of painful circumstances which must now be forgotten. The hour is come to fight and to conquer. The enemy did not wait for us on the Danube. His columns, demoralised and destroyed by disease, are painfully retiring. It is Providence, perhaps, that has wished to spare us the trial of these unhealthy countries; it is Providence, also, which calls us to the Crimea, a country as healthy as our own, and to Sebas-

topol, the seat of the Russian power, within whose walls we go to seek together the pledge of peace, and of our return to our homes. The enterprise is grand, and worthy of you. You will realise it by the aid of the most formidable military and naval force that has ever been seen collected. The Allied fleets, with their 3000 cannons, and their 25,000 brave seamen, your emulators and your companions-in-arms, will bear to the Crimea an English army, whose high courage your forefathers learned to respect; a chosen division of those Ottoman soldiers who have just approved themselves in your eyes; and a French army, which I have the right and pride to call the *elite* of our whole army. I see in this more than pledges of success. I see in it success itself. Generals, commanders of corps, officers of all arms, you will partake of the confidence with which my mind is filled, and will impart it to your soldiers. We shall soon salute the three united flags floating together on the ramparts of Sebastopol with our national cry, "*Vive l'Empereur!*"

"A. DE ST ARNAUD.

"HEAD-QUARTERS, VARNA, *August* 25."

The ardour and enthusiasm of the French troops were further heightened by a proclamation from the Emperor, issued about the same time. The document was in the following animating terms:—

"SOLDIERS AND SAILORS OF THE ARMY OF THE EAST!—You have not fought, but already you have obtained a signal success. Your presence, and that of the English troops, have sufficed to compel the enemy to recross the Danube, and the Russian vessels remain ingloriously in their ports. You have not yet fought, and already you have struggled courageously against death. A scourge, fatal though transitory, has not arrested your ardour. France, and the sovereign whom she has chosen, cannot witness without deep emotion, or without making every effort to give assistance to such energy and such sacrifices.

"The First Consul said, in 1797, in a proclamation to his army: 'The first quality required in a soldier, is the power of supporting fatigues and privations. Courage is only a secondary one.' The first you are now displaying. Who can deny you the possession of the second? Therefore it is that your enemies, disseminated from Finland to the Caucasus, are seeking anxiously to discover the point upon which France and England will direct their attacks, which

they foresee will be decisive; for right, justice, and warlike inspiration are on our side.

"Already, Somorsund and 2000 prisoners have just fallen into our power. Soldiers! you will follow the example of the army of Egypt. The conquerors of the Pyramids and Mont Thabor had, like you, to contend against warlike soldiers and disease; but, in spite of pestilence and the efforts of three armies, they returned with honour to their country. Soldiers! have confidence in your General-in-chief and in me. I am watching over you, and I hope, with the assistance of God, soon to see a diminution of your sufferings and an increase of your glory.

"Soldiers! farewell, till we meet again.

"NAPOLEON."

When convalescence was in some measure restored among the troops, active preparations were commenced to move the Allied army from Varna to the Crimea. We shall, however, leave the troops for a short time, and attend to operations occurring in other parts. Our reader's attention will be first directed to what was taking place on the shores of the Black Sea.

The Allied fleets, the English under the command of Admiral Dundas, and the French under Admiral Hamelin, entered the Black Sea at the commencement of the year 1854. Among the principal men-of-war composing the English fleet, were the *Britannia*, *Arbion*, *Jupiter*, *Vengeance*, *Sanspareil*, *Rodney*, *Bellerophon*, *Trafalgar*, *Agamemnon*, *London*, *Queen*, and *Terrible*; while the French sent out the *Bayard*, *Ville de Paris*, *Jena*, *Henri IV*, *Valmy*, *Friedland*, *Charlemagne*, *Descartes*, &c. The largest of these vessels were steamers; and accordingly the Black Sea in 1854 introduced a new era in the history of naval warfare. A signal was hoisted on the flag-ship—"Turks are to be protected from all aggressions by sea and land!" This was the first intimation that the Allies would employ the force of arms against Russia, if necessary.

No event of any importance occurred during the stay of the Allied fleets in the Black Sea, at this time. Some five or six vessels were despatched as an escort to a Turkish flotilla carrying arms and ammunition to

Trebizond and Batoum—Turkish ports on the southern and south-eastern shores of the Black Sea. The presence of the Allied fleets in the Black Sea, no doubt, prevented the Russian war ships from attacking the Turkish forts; but having not been empowered by the home authorities to make any active demonstration against the Russians, the fleets, after remaining a few weeks, returned to the Bosphorus.

At the beginning of March, Admiral Dundas despatched Captain Jones in the *Sampson*, on a reconnoitring cruise along the coast of Anatolia, Georgia, Circassia, and the Crimea, from which he returned to Beicos Bay about the 12th of the month; and soon after the Allied fleets sailed from the Bosphorus, and anchored in Kavarna Bay, a portion of the Black Sea, a little northward of Varna. The fleets consisted at this time of ten English and eight French line-of-battle ships, with six English and six French steamers, of smaller size; others were added afterwards.

The Russian coasts of the Black Sea, at the commencement of the war, were very little known to the English and French admirals; the jealousy between the various powers having restricted the facilities for the entrance of ships of war into that sea. The Russian portion of this coast commenced at the eastern-most extremity of the sea, marked by Fort St. Nikolaïa, near to which, on the Turkish border, is Batoum. This point is 330 miles eastward of Sinope. From thence the Russians possessed all the coast to the Sea of Azof, the entrance to which is formed by the straits of Yenikalé or Kertch; then, all the coast of the Crimea; and, lastly, the north-western coast of the Black Sea, from Perekop, past Kherson and Odessa, to the mouths of the Danube. Silently and perseveringly did the czars build fort after fort along this extensive line of coast; and it became essentially necessary, on the breaking out of war, that the Allies should know something concerning the number and strength of these posts. At

that time, the chief of the forts eastward of the Crimea was at Anapa, a distance of a few miles from the straits of Yenikalé. This important fortress, originally constructed by the Turks to protect their commerce with the tribes of the Caucasus, had been afterwards converted by the Russians into a strong military position. Commercially, it is of little importance, for the harbour is open to every wind, and can only be used in the fine season. The western chain of the Caucasus commences at Anapa; and this was practically the eastern limit of Russian power in that sea; for the Circassians laid claim to all the coast, and the Russians have never succeeded in establishing any first-class fort beyond Anapa. The forts further east have always been isolated; the garrison being in danger of destruction if they left the protection of stone walls. At a short distance from the coast are mountains and forests, among which the Circassians and other tribes find a home; the Russians have seldom yet been left by these tribes in quiet possession of the north-east shores of the Black Sea. At the period of the commencement of the war, the first Russian fort eastward of Anapa was Soudjuk Kalé (Sudjuk Kaleh), defended by three redoubts; it was at this place that a Russian squadron captured the British ship *Vixen*, causing thereby great diplomatic excitement in 1837. Next to this was Ghelendjik (Gelendshik,) possessing a fine and safe harbour, and regarded by the Russians as a place of much importance: a flotilla being there located, to watch the movements of the Circassians. A few miles further east is the Bay of Pchiat, at the entrance of which the Russians built a fort in 1837. Numerous little bays then occur, fringed with villages, the inhabitants of which have succeeded in repelling all hostile attacks of the Russians. After passing Kavakinskoi and Gagri, there were presented Posunda and Bomborai in Abasia; and then Soucoum Kalé (Suchum Kaleh,) possessing one of the best bays in this part of the coast. At the mouth of the small river Ingour was Fort Anaklia,

Redoubt Kalé and Poti, at the mouths of two other small rivers, were also provided with Russian forts. The last Russian fort was at St. Nikolaia, near the boundary between the ancient provinces of Mingrelia, and Gouriel. The Russian forts, from the Straits of Yenikalé to the Turkish frontier, were about sixteen in number.

Many a cruise was made during the summer to these Circassian coasts, first as a mere matter of reconnoissance, but, after the declaration of war, as a means of conquest, or destruction. Fort after fort was visited, and the exact state of all ascertained. These forts were mostly alike, and generally situated at the mouths of rivers; and most of them were found to be constructed of sandstone, brought from Kertch. Each fort had a garrison 500 to 1000 men, living in wooden barracks. Most of these forts were blown up, after the garrisons had been removed, to prevent them being captured by the Allies. Sir Edmund Lyons, with the *Agamemnon*, *Charlemagne*, *Highflyer*, *Sampson*, and *Mogador*, appeared off Redoubt Kalé, on the 19th of May; he saw Russian officers on the parapet of the fort, and Cossacks galloping at full speed from the beach towards the town; he sent a flag of truce, demanding the immediate evacuation of the place. The Russians remitted an evasive answer, to gain time; and just before the ships were about to open fire, masses of smoke began to ascend from the town—the Russians had fired it. The conflagration became very striking; houses and trees burned together during the whole night; and fierce flames and lurid smoke illuminated the decks of the ships. Redoubt Kalé was the most important of all the Russian forts between Anapa and the Turkish frontier; it was on the Georgian coast, commanding the communication between Tiflis and the Black Sea, and was the place of landing for many of the troops of the Russian army in Asia. Redoubt Kalé, or what remained of it, was handed over to the keeping of the Turks as soon as the Allies had frightened

the Russians from it; the Turks proceeded immediately to repair some of the fortifications; while the *Sampson*, under Captain Jones, remained in the harbour as a protection.

About the middle of March, just previous to the actual declaration of war, but when war was inevitable, the Emperor Nicholas had ordered the abandonment of all the forts, except three of the most importance—namely, Anapa, Soudjuk Kalé, and Redoubt Kalé, and thus it arose that the forced evacuation of the last named was regarded as important by the Allies. Sir Edmund Lyons, in the course of this expedition, examined the Straits of Yenikalé, opening into the important Sea of Azof; but the result of his examination was to deter him from immediate operations in that quarter, owing to the shallowness of the water. One of his ships grounded in water marked "deep" on the Russian charts, and was with difficulty set afloat again; this, and many other events during the war, introduced a belief in some quarters, that the Russian authorities had purposely sanctioned the dissemination of erroneous charts, so as to entrap their enemies.

Viewed in relation to the immediate necessities of the Turks, the east end of the Black Sea was regarded by the Allies as of more importance than the northern coast; and it was on this account that one or two ships of war remained for several weeks off Redoubt Kalé. Nor was the precaution superfluous: for the Russians, in June, returned to the place, from the heart of Georgia, and would perhaps have besieged it but for the presence of a couple of formidable war-steamers.

During the first two or three months of the year 1854, the Turkish fleet was not applied to much use by the Allied admirals; but on the 4th of May, it left Constantinople for the Black Sea, after a long detention in the Bay of Buyukdere. It was a fine fleet of 32 ships, comprising one first-rate of 124 guns, the *Mahmoudie*; three of 104 guns; two of 90; two of

84; and one of 74. One of the 84-gun ships, the *Techrife*, was commanded by an Englishman, who had been many years in the Turkish service—Admiral Slade, under his Oriental designation of Mouchavir Pasha. The fleet also comprised three large frigates, two brigs, and seven or eight steamers. The fleet was inspected before its departure by Mehemet, the Capudan Pasha. Admiral Slade, combining his experience as an English naval officer with his knowledge of Turks and Turkey, was a valuable coadjutor in the fleet. This fleet, after conference with the Allied admirals, was bound for the Circassian coast, to aid in those operations already described. It appears, however, that little as the English and French fleets effected in the Black Sea during that year, the Turks were permitted hardly any share even in that little. A correspondent at Constantinople, of one of the journals, writing in August, thus commented on the matter: "With all deference to nautical men, it may be allowed to regret that this squadron, strong in the number and size of its vessels, and in, at least, the valour and determination of its crews, was not turned to a better use during its last visit to the Black Sea. To hear the contemptuous manner in which the English officers have spoken of it, and of the necessity of keeping it quiet for fear of its impeding the operations of the Allies, one would think that a succession of Trafalgars had occupied the last few months, and that these inexpert Mussulmans had been condemned to Baltachik Bay that they might not interfere with the activity and brilliancy of our own operations. But where nothing is done, the Turk stands as high as his supercilious critics. No doubt the Ottoman sailors, though capable of obstinate resistance in a fight like that of Sinope, are not sufficiently skilful for elaborate evolutions; still, they might have been made more serviceable than they were during their two months in harbour, where they died of starvation and scurvy, and were as useless as if they had remained

within the Bosphorus. * * The unhappy Turks were left, without money or necessaries, to starve in the sight of plenty, and perish with disease, close to crews in perfect health. They saw provisions bought up and taken to the Allied fleet, while they had nothing but their wretched allowances; they became demoralised and dispirited, and out of their moderate squadron they lost 1000 men." The Turks had, indeed, no great reason to be delighted with their Allies, who failed to come to their aid during the critical exigencies of the Danubian campaign and the siege of Silistria, and neglected their willing and well-meant co-operation in naval matters.

We will now notice the active operations of the great fleet in the Black Sea, during the spring and summer of 1854.

The welcome tidings of the Declaration of War reached the fleets in Kavarna Bay on the 9th of April, and caused great joy amongst both officers and men. On the 13th of April, before the proclamation of war could have reached Odessa, the Furious was fired upon when it went there with a flag of truce to fetch the English consul. So foul a breach of the law of nations, so gross a violation of the usages even of war, could not be allowed to go unpunished. Accordingly Admirals Dundas and Hamelin no sooner received intelligence of this last specimen of Russian perfidy and barbarity, than they determined upon steps for taking reprisals. As the place is rather a mercantile port than a military station, they deemed it unnecessary to bring any great display of force against it. They contented themselves with six three-deckers, thirteen two-deckers, and eight or nine steam frigates. At the same time, the affair appeared to them of sufficient importance to justify their going in person to superintend the operations. On the 21st of April, at about four o'clock in the afternoon, they cast anchor two miles from the town. They immediately sent a flag of truce with a demand for the surrender of the

Russian, English, and French vessels in the quarantine harbour No answer having been returned, the nine steamers commenced an attack upon the batteries of the Imperial Mole at half past six on the morning of the 22nd of April. Though the steamers were none of them large—the heaviest of the fleet carrying only twenty-eight guns—yet, with the assistance of boats, from which the congreve rockets were discharged, they did plenty of execution, as appears from the following despatch received by the Turkish ambassador at Vienna:

"I have just received the following despatch from Belgrade; it has been communicated to me by Omar Pasha, who begged me to transmit it to you. Eight steam frigates belonging to the combined fleet proceeded to Odessa, and commenced bombarding the military port on the 22nd. In a few hours they destroyed all the fortifications, the batteries, and the military establishments of the Russians. Two powder magasinies blew up, and 12 of the enemy's vessels were sunk. The commercial port was spared, and merchant vessels escaped. Thirteen Russian vessels, laden with stores and ammunition, were captured."

"The town of Odessa was defended by four batteries, which were constructed about the beginning of this year, and were placed as follows:—The first, of 12 guns, on the mole of the quarantine port, defending the entrance of the great roadstead; the second, of six guns, below the boulevard and to the right of the flight of steps which comes down to the sea, and divides the boulevard in two; this battery defends the quarantine port; the third to the left of the steps, placed in such a manner as to cross its fire with that of the second battery, and to command the roadstead; the fourth on the quay of the *port de pratique* below the Palace of Prince Woronsoff; each of these two last named batteries had eight guns. In addition to these four batteries there were three others; one on the opposite side of the Gulf of Odessa, at the Russian

village of Dofinofka, nearly opposite the quarantine port; the other, to the south of the port, near the country-house of the Countess of Langeron; and the third, in the same direction, and near the Cape of the Great Fountain, where a lighthouse is also placed."

It reflects the highest honour upon the admirals that such precautions were taken to avoid doing any more injury than was absolutely unavoidable to the commercial part of the harbour and town; and it is satisfactory to know that those precautions were not without effect. This careful discrimination forms a striking contrast with the wholesale slaughter perpetrated under circumstances of the grossest barbarity upon all alike at Sinope. Instinctively as we shrink from the thought of so fearful a waste of human life as these scenes involve, it is difficult not to regard with a satisfaction equally instinctive the just retribution for that brutal outrage which the Imperial autocrat had the daring effrontery to make the theme of a grand national thanksgiving to the God of justice, mercy, and truth.

The policy of sparing Odessa may however be questioned, as it afterwards proved the principal depôt for provisioning the Russian troops during the continuance of the war.

Soon after this event, the *Tiger*, *Vesuvius*, and *Niger*, were detached from the Allied fleets, and ordered to reconnoitre Odessa, concerning which the admirals appear to have remained in some anxiety. A dense fog speedily led to the separation of the three ships; and on the evening of the 12th of May, at about six o'clock, the *Tiger* ran aground, four or five miles from Odessa, near a light-house, and under a high cliff. The crew immediately got out her boats, laid the anchor astern, and lightened her by throwing the guns overboard. The Russians, on the look-out above, did not fail to take advantage of the situation of the unfortunate ship. The seamen were annoyed with musketry while employed in endeavouring to re-

lieve their vessel; and about nine o'clock, the firing became still more determined, by the employment of field-pieces. The luckless *Tiger*—a steamer of sixteen guns, and about 1270 tons burden—resisted until Captain Giffard had received desperate wounds, and a midshipman and two seamen were killed, and one wounded. The captain, seeing his hopeless condition, struck his flag, and the Russians took the crew prisoners. At this critical time, the *Niger* and *Vesuvius* hove in sight. The Russians therefore ordered the prisoners to hasten on shore, or they would again fire; and when the two steamers came within gunshot, the prisoners were placed in front of the Russians on the beach. Captain Giffard and his poor fellows were then marched or conveyed to Odessa, where they received every kindness from the inhabitants; Giffard himself being lodged in the governor's house. They were allowed considerable liberty; were permitted to write to their friends; and were visited, under a flag of truce, by the first-lieutenant of the *Vesuvius*. Care seems to have been taken, on this occasion, that the Russians should not be open to the charge of dishonouring a flag of truce. The news speedily reached St. Petersburg; and the *Invalide Russe*, on the 19th, contained a depatch from General Osten-Sacken to Prince Paskevitch—stating that the *Tiger*, when too much injured to be preserved, was purposely burnt by means of red-hot shot; that the flag and Union-jack had been kept as trophies; that some of the guns had been secured, and taken to Odessa; and that the prisoners, besides Captain Giffard, numbered 24 officers and warrant-officers, and 201 seamen and marines. Mrs. Giffard, wife of the unfortunate captain of the *Tiger*, went to Odessa early in June in the *Vesuvius*, with the determination to share the captivity of her husband; she reached that place on the 9th, but found that he had sunk under his suffering a week previously. She was allowed to land for a few hours to visit his grave, and to converse with some of the captured

crew of the Tiger; and she was treated with much consideration by the authorities.

The loss of the *Tiger* was very mortifying to the Allies; and there was another affair that caused deep regret in the minds of the English naval officers. This was the death of Captain Parker, which occurred a few weeks afterwards. His death was announced to Admiral Dundas in a despatch, of which the following is an extract:—"Captain Hyde Parker directed a strong party of boats from the *Fireband* and *Vesuvius* to accompany him up the Danube, for the purpose of destroying some works which were occupied by the Russians. At two P. M., the boat entered the Danube, Captain Parker's gig in advance. At the bend of the river, opposite a number of houses on the right bank, and a large stockade on the left, a sharp fire was opened upon him, and his boat was nearly riddled. Some of his men were wounded. The heavy boats were coming up, and Captain Parker at once pulled back to them, hailing me (Commander Powell) to land the marines, and be ready to storm. This order was executed by the marines and a detachment of seamen in the same gallant spirit with which it was given. Captain Parker then dashed on shore in his gig, and at once advanced with a few men. He was in front and greatly exposed. A tremendous fire was soon opened by the enemy upon them, and a few minutes after landing, a bullet passed through their leader's heart, and in a moment this gallant sailor ceased to live."

The achievements yet mentioned in the Black Sea were of far too trivial a nature to satisfy the aspiration of men who had entered upon the campaign with such ardour as the British naval officers and seamen. The tars wished to distinguish themselves by daring and successful exploits; to do something which should give them renown when they returned to England. They were tired of excursions to the Circassian coast; of escorting Turkish ships; of firing shot and shell into a town without any definite object or result. The boys

at Varna, Kavarna, and Baltschik, were places of rendezvous for the fleets in the intervals between the periods of active service—intervals too many and too long to be welcome.

On the 17th of April the combined squadron took their departure from Kavarna Bay, exploring the Crimea and the Circassian coasts, and returned on the 20th of May, after a cruise of about five weeks. Nothing of importance occurred during this cruise, and Admiral Hamelin, writing to the French government an account of his proceedings, complained that the Russians would not give them anything to do. He says:—"It has not depended on us that the feats of war which have occurred from time to time during that month's cruise were not more numerous and more important; but the Russian naval forces have kept themselves so completely shut up at Sebastopol, and under the shelter of the thousand guns of that place, that during the twenty days passed in cruising at a short distance from that port, we have not been able to induce a single vessel of the enemy to venture on a combat, even with our look-out vessels. On the other hand, our steam-cruisers were picking up throughout the whole length of the Black Sea vessels bearing the Russian flag, which constitute a tolerably good number of prizes." The Allies had been able to count, in the inclosed harbour of Sebastopol, from 14 to 18 Russian sail-of-the-line, 15 steamers, and 7 frigates.

One or two smart encounters occurred at different times between a small steamer and one or two Russian frigates on the coast of the Crimea; but nothing of importance resulted from them.

On the 2nd of July, the French squadron under Admiral Bruat joined that under Admiral Hamelin, at Baltschik: bringing 9000 troops from Gallipoli to Varna, and increasing the French fleet in the Black Sea. There were then, anchored off the line of coast between Varna and Baltschik, seventeen British ships-of-war, and fourteen French line-of-battle ships, besides sever-

al steamers. After spending nearly a month in inactivity, the greater portion of both fleets sailed and steamed out of harbour, bound on another exploratory cruise and carrying some of the generals of the Allied armies. The object which the expedition had in view was to minutely examine Sabastopol and the adjacent coast of the Crimea. An officer on board the fleet thus described what took place:—"The *Fury*, *Terrible*, and a French steamer, were purposely sent in somewhat ahead, so as to arrive at early dawn. The moment they showed themselves, there were commotion and preparation in the harbour; steamers sent up tall columns of smoke, to help out the large ships, with unfurled sails, &c. But before they had sailed out to chase these impertinent foes with an overwhelming force—to be recorded in a magnificent despatch as a grand victory—the signalman on the hills above descried the fleet coming in; so the steamers moved up into the dockyard creek, and put their fires out; the ships furled their sails; and we were tranquilly allowed to make a narrow examination of them and their prison from sunrise to sunset of a beautiful clear summer's day. Before we came up, the *Fury*, *Terrible*, and French steamer had ventured in rather near to the north side of the harbour, and several shots were fired at them. The distance might have been about a mile and a half, and the Russian fire was so good, that the the rigging of the *Terrible* was cut immediately, and the little *Fury* was hulled just below the water: the ill-conditioned shot destroying two jars of the midshipmen's butter in their berth. Luckily, nobody was touched. The fire was returned, and the steamers moved on. The works on the northern shore have been much strengthened since my last look at the place, and the strength of the sea-batteries is undeniable. Inside, the Russians have, of course, a complete sense of security at present. No sea-force could damage them without exposing itself to destruction. With telescopes we could see the men bathing from the two or

three liners behind the booms at the harbour's mouth."

The fleets returned to Varna and Baltschik, after the generals and admirals had satisfied themselves by a close examination of the formidable Sebastopol.

When, late in the month of August, the Allied fleets and armies, after a wearisome period of sickness, and detention, prepared for a vast expedition to the Crimea, the inhabitants of Odessa were thrown into a state of great trepidation. The following proclamation was posted up on the walls:—

"To the Inhabitants of Odessa.—The enemy is again seen, in greater force than ever before, at no great distance from our city. We are armed, and well prepared. Any attempt made by the enemy to land will be energetically resisted; but the guns of his vessels have a very long range. Do not lose courage, but keep wet cloths and hides of oxen prepared to cast over any shells which may be thrown into the city. Tubs full of water must be kept on the roofs of the houses, so that any fire may be extinguished. Should the enemy, however, carry on the war with obstinacy under protection of his guns, we will retire to Tiraspol, after having reduced the city to ruins and ashes, so that no asylum may be found. Woe be to those who may remain behind, or attempt to extinguish the fire!

"Krusenstern, Governor.

"*August* 30, 1854."

This Moscow-like proclamation increased the consternation. Almost all the corn was removed to Tiraspol, a town on the Dniester, sixty miles from Odessa; the women and children were sent away; the pavement of the streets was taken up; the male population were drilled every day; and the defences were strengthened. No attack was, however, made; Odessa was again spared—for reasons which were not publicly known at the time, but which may require notice in a later Chapter.

At length, in the beginning of September, 1854, were completed all the arrangements for one of the most stupendous enterprises of modern times—an attack on

Sebastopol by the Allied naval and military forces, comprising, in effect, three fleets and three armies. This was to be the crowning reward for all that the soldiers and sailors had suffered for want of employment. The demonstrations at Malta, at Gallipoli, and Bulair; at Adrianople and Constantinople; at Scutari and Unkiar-Skelessi; at Varna, and Aladyn, and Devna—all were to be compensated to the troops by an immediate and important onslaught on the Russians. The delays at Besika and Beicos, at Varna and Baltschik—all were to be made up to the tars by a dashing attack against Russian ships or Russian granite forts.

CHAPTER V.

The C[illegible] and Circassians—Schamyl, the Female Warrior—Erzeroum—Trebisond—Kars—Asiatic Campaign—Intrigues in the North-West of Turkey—Greek Attacks on the Borders of Turkey.

We now, in the order of time, proceed briefly to notice the operations which took place in the year 1854 in Asia. The Turks had, single-handed, repelled the hordes of Russian mercenaries on the banks of the Danube; the Allied troops had arrived in large numbers on Eastern soil, and were preparing to invade the Crimea; the Allied fleets, in formidable strength, were swarming the waters of the Black Sea; and, in the Asiatic neighbourhood of that Sea, Turkish troops were endeavouring to maintain their hold of the possessions to which they laid claim, against the encroachments of Russia. It is to be regretted that the Allies did not sympathise and assist them more in their endeavours; for the campaign in Asia, in 1854, was very disastrous to the Turkish cause. The position of Schamyl, the Caucasian chief, was in some measure connected with these operations; therefore we shall make no apology for introducing a brief notice of this extraordinary man, and the heroic tribes of which he is the leader.

The interval between the Black and the Caspian seas is filled up by a ridge of mountains in which occur some of the noblest aspects, the loftiest peaks in nature, and in the varying heights of which, races and clans find their home. The inhabitants are various in their origin, their customs and their names. Yet, as they may all be designated by the general name of Cauca-

sian, so may they be in common characterised as superior to most other races on earth, alike in bodily form and essential endowment. Noble in blood, they enjoy the inestimable advantage of having noble recollections; their historical traditions run back many centuries; they themselves and their country appear in the dawn of Western fable; and while Grecian poetry made the Caucasus one of its favourite spots, Persian philosophy placed there the abode of its satan, Ahriman, the prince of darkness. Even the Old Testament has been made to lend its contribution to the venerableness of the land; for the prophet Elijah has been honoured with a cavern, where he is worshipped, and where, according to the popular belief, he still works miracles. Ruins, too, rise here and there, to add at once to the beauty of the scene and the self-respect of the people. These facts combine to show that the Caucasians are anything but that semi-barbarous race that they are commonly accounted. Scarcely, indeed, could they be called highly civilised, if we take as types of civilisation a Parisian *belle* or an English philosopher. But viewed relatively to their mountain home, the Caucasians have a cultivation which befits their position, and raises them high above their neighbours. Living a pastoral life, thinly scattered over the valleys, they coalesce in cities only on the plains where they border on Russia in the north, and Persia in the south. Yet they are united together, individuals with individuals, and, to some extent, tribe after tribe, in social and religious bonds, which at once betoken and confirm their culture. The bond would now be far more intimate and extensive than it is, but for the intrigues and gold of Russia, who has spared neither treasure, nor blood, nor honour, to bring these independent tribes under its yoke. Scarcely less injurious to the moral sentiments has been the prevalence among them of a species of slave-trade of by no means the least degrading kind. The Circassian, whether male or female, is naturally handsome, and the beauty which nature has given in lofty stature, graceful

contour, well-turned features, an eagle eye, and a clear, brilliant complexion, is set off to the best advantage by loose and flowing robes, and by a native elegance of manner, which art might spoil, but could not bestow. While these qualities are common to the sexes, the female possesses them in a very marked degree; and she enjoys that inestimable privilege which she has received from nature, of well knowing how to make the most of them for attraction and fascination. This loveliness has been fatal to thousands of Circassian girls, who, in consequence of their charms, have for ages been in great request, that they might minister to the unworthy pleasures of the polygamist Moslem or Turkish voluptuary. Hence arose a trade in beautiful virgins, by which even the parents of very many did not disdain to profit. Lovely girls became, so to say, the circulating medium of the country, and, indeed, of the whole district; the father bartered his daughter for arms; the purchaser, conveying her to Turkey, exchanged her for gold or for merchandise, and with the gain loaded his own coffers, or made new purchases, in order to obtain a fresh supply of the marketable article, feminine beauty. The trade has of late greatly declined. That it should ever have existed is very distressing, and the only mitigation of the evil is, that in the sale of their daughters the brave and liberty-loving natives obtained the means of self-defence and of assault, by which they could make even Russia feel their power, and rise to a hope of national independence.

The Circassian female is the centre of much that is no less romantic than lofty. Whether as a girl or a mother, she feels the nobility of her race, and readily acts with a poetry or a heroism, as the occasion demands. Passionately fond of music and dancing, the Circassians spend much time in those amusements. The vales and mountain-tops echo with popular songs, and few are the more remarkable spots that are not dignified and made dear by the blood of a brother, a lover, a father,

shed in behalf of Circassian liberty. The land is thus strewed with the materials of poetry, which local bards know how to weave into bands and chaplets lovely as well as strong. When once the light-hearted girl has given her heart, she therewith gives a high moral sentiment, which inspires her intended husband with the loftiest aspirations, of which national liberty is the centre thought. And when the maiden has passed into the mother, she infuses with her milk the love of freedom and independence into her child's heart.

In a country where liberty is so precious, free institutions might be expected to exist. In reality the government is patriarchal; the father is the head, not of the family alone, but of the clan; and several clans combine together under a patriarch to form a tribe, from which, by a union of tribes, a people or a nation arises. Government with such a people will be both local and general, particular and central; rising in the extremities, it will radiate to a common point, while the influence of that common point, where the social powers are concentrated, will diffuse itself over the whole surface, and add to the efficiency wherein it had its own origin, and in which still it finds its chief support. Accordingly, every village has its own common council, comprising all its male adults, which is convened only when some obvious use, or clear, if not pressing necessity calls. The several village assemblies are easily fused together into a provincial meeting, and by deputies the general will may be represented in a national council. The union here implied is cemented and made efficient by customs as well as prescriptions; and less difficult than we, in our state of society, should conceive, is it to communicate a sympathy or an aim through every fibre of the social body, or to arouse the collective force of the country for the promotion of a common object. This concentration has been of late very much augmented by the wonderful influence of one of those lofty characters which are called into existence by great social necessities. We allude to the

prophet and hero of the Caucasus, Imaum Schamyl, who, though past the middle period of life, seems not unlikely to play a part which may place him side by side with Kouli Khan, or even Mohammed.

For now above twenty years have the chief and best tribes of the Caucasus been struggling more or less manfully against the ambitious designs and the oppressive yoke of Russia. With due allegiance to old Blucher's motto, namely *Vorwarts* (Forwards), which exactly describes Russia's ceaseless aim, the government of that huge country has been straining every nerve to break down the barrier set by that line of mountains against its advance on Persia, Affghanistan, India, Asia. But for the wall of adamant (stronger even than those mountains) which the bravery of the Caucasians has thrown up, Russia would years ago have met England foot to foot on the plains of the Indian Delta. Yet, though able to throw off the chains as fast as they were imposed, the Caucasians had not power to vindicate their national independence. Every year opened with aggressions from new and augmented hordes of Russian invaders, though every autumn saw them driven into fortresses, where they remained cooped up during the winter—a sign at once of their own impotence and of Caucasian independence. Disunion was the main reason of the partial success which rewarded the worthy struggles of the mountaineers. That disunion Schamyl nearly banished. With the aid of a new religion, compounded of an ancient philosophy and a popular Mohammedanism, he has fused the several elements into one mass, and so gained power to achieve brilliant victories, with comparatively small forces, over large numbers of Russian serfs. The first generals that Nicholas had at his command have had their laurels tarnished. Even the present Emperor made a visit thither in vain; and, with an army of not less than 120,000 men, Russia could scarcely maintain her foothold in those parts, and has suffered defeat, and even loss of territory, which she is ashamed to confess, and almost afraid to reflect on.

Whatever may be the cause of the strong resemblance between the various tribes on the eastern Euxine coast, it is an unquestionable fact, that their manners, their appearance, and their dress are all nearly the same. There is everywhere a total absence of settled order and regular government. Each canton, each valley, comprises a separate community, governed by traditions and customs handed down from generation to generation. Legal disputes between different cantons are decided by general assemblies, over which men eminent for their high character, and venerable on account of their years, are called to preside. This republican sort of government is often modified by the influence of a prince, or a talented man, who, by the means of his wealth and his connexions, manages to impose laws upon his tribe, and become the powerful chief of his clan. An alliance between several of these tribes, or a general levy for a foraging expedition, is a rare and transient occurrence among them. When such an occasion does present itself, all the men who are capable of bearing arms assemble together at an appointed place, and there, in a tumultuous manner, discuss the plan of attack, and choose generals to head their force. Sometimes the want of harmony among them breaks up the alliance they have formed, or, it may be, some unfavourable omen, or some traditional superstition induces them to put off the expedition to another time. A hare crossing their path is decidedly a bad omen, and this simple circumstance is often sufficient to dishearten the most valiant among them. On the other hand, the time when the moon is in its first quarter is considered very favourable to success in any enterprise.

As soon as a decision has once been formed, the warriors march out with their chiefs and their standards at the head. They observe no regular order of march; the best horses go first, and the rest follow as they can. The cavalry do not accompany the infantry, except upon extraordinary occasions. They are very rapid in

their movements, and do not encumber themselves with any baggage, even when the expedition is likely to last several days. They travel many miles in the night, but always in such a manner as to be ready for a sudden attack at break of day, which is greatly facilitated by their admirable mode of arming themselves for such surprises. The horses are not shod; the sheath of their sabre is wooden and covered with leather; and they carry their gun in a felt case; there is nothing about them that glitters or rattles; and the consequence is, that a troop of Tcherkessians give no sort of indication of their approach, even when they are at full gallop.

A writer thus sums up his remarks on these enemies to Russian aggression:—

"How should a people be conquered who have a spirit as noble as the Hungarian, and mountains, instead of plains, for a battle-field and a refuge? 'If England and Turkey abandon us,' exclaimed one of their chiefs (the one who originated the oath of the league), 'we will burn our houses and property, and retire to the high rocks, and there defend ourselves till the last man falls.' And this was not the momentary enthusiasm of one man. In congress and councils it has been repeatedly declared that if the Russians succeeded in erecting forts in every bay of the coast, the inhabitants would never yield. 'We have abundance of mountains,' they have often said; 'and to these we retire and defend ourselves, if we are unable to retain the coast.' They have, however, made stupendous efforts to retain the coast, and, on the whole, with success. Their rocks and trees are incessantly all alive with human eyes. If a friendly vessel arrives with salt (their great want) or other commodities, out rush a string of men into the sea to seize the rope; or boats full of armed men to row round the vessel and divert the Russian fire. If the Russians draw near to cut out a vessel or storm a fort, there is sure to be some breastwork, if only of hurdles filled with shingle, and concealing a trench; and from behind, the aim taken is

always deadly. Their songs are a curious contrast to the hymns of the Russian soldiery—a contrast which reminds the traveller of that which is on record on the siege of Jerusalem, when the Roman trumpets, in the camp sounded harsh and mechanical in comparison with the wild Hebrew music which swelled from the city walls. The Russians chaunt the hymns prescribed and taught. The Circassians have their bards, who exhort and prophesy. 'You men rush forth to the battle; for brave youths love war. If you fall, you are martyrs. If you live, you have half that glory.' This is no mere romance. It is about the most solid and significant fact of the last century, this successful defiance of Russia by Circassia alone, when all the rest of the world gave way. This little country has weathered the long, dreary storm; and now the worst is past, we may hope. The Black Sea is opened, never more to be closed. All western Europe—the foremost people of all the earth—are to be the allies of Circassia. She asked only salt, ammunition, and a clear sea; and she must henceforth have them all. And how much more—how much of reinforcement and of commerce—how much of the gratitude of Turkey and the admiration of western Europe and America, a few years will show."

But one of the most formidable enemies with whom Russia has to contend in Asia is the chief Schamyl, whose life, as related by most writers, reads more like romance than sober history. Extraordinary in itself, it has been raised almost to the miraculous, by the various additions which have been made to it, from the natural propensity of men to exaggerate what strikes them with astonishment.

It appears that for about thirty years a spirit of mysticism has prevailed among the tribes of the Caucasus, favoured, in some degree, by the solitude which surrounds them, and productive of mighty effects upon them. Towards the year 1823, it took the form of a sort of system under the name of *suffism*; those who

are initiated in it being supposed to hold direct communication with God, and to be entrusted with the destiny of their brethren in the Mohammedan faith. One of the leading teachers of this system was Kasi Mollah, who demanded unlimited faith and obedience from his followers, and surrounded himself with a select few, calle *murids*, who had devoted themselves to death, if necessary, in the defence of their faith.

Schamyl was one of the most distinguished of these *murids*. He was born in the year 1797, at the small Circassian village of Himri. From his earliest youth he displayed a lofty pride, a strong love of independence, and great earnestness of character. Disdaining the sports and amusements of his youthful companions, he withdrew himself from their society, to peruse the Koran, and meditate upon the sayings of the prophet. Though feeble in bodily constitution, he underwent all sorts of fatigue, braved every species of danger, and cared not what he suffered as long as he could surpass his rivals. If in his struggles with them he happened at any time to be beaten, he retired, in sadness and desperation, to deplore his misfortune and disgrace. Even at this time a strong religious enthusiasm took possession of his mind, which being fostered by his teachers, failed not to produce striking results.

Schamyl had become the favourite of Kasi Mollah by the time when the disastrous conflict at Himri took place. Pursued by the Russians, the Tcherkessians, under the command of Kasi Mollah, had taken up their position in this fortress, which they thought inaccessible. General Rosan advanced in spite of every obstacle, and laid siege to the citadel. For four days and four nights it was bombarded. Foremost among his *murids* stood Kasi Mollah, beseeching and encouraging his soldiers, who fell around him covered with wounds. After a most heroic resistance, nothing remained for the Circassians but to die bravely. The Russians, after fighting hard for five-and-twenty days,

had just taken the last redoubt. Twenty-four *murids* yet survived; covered with wounds, and dripping with blood, Kasi Mollah, committing his soul to the God of armies, was upon his knees calling upon Allah, and still urging on the small remnant of his force. All the *murids* soon perished, with the exception of one, who, though struck by two balls and stabbed by a bayonet, managed to effect his escape from destruction, and afterwards became Russia's most implacable foe. This one, who was left for dead in the fortress of Himri, was Kasi Mollah's favourite disciple, Schamyl. How the young hero escaped is a mystery which has not yet been solved. But when he again appeared at the head of the Toherkessians, he was regarded by the Russians as one risen from the dead. From this time forth his fellow country-men considered him the special favourite of Heaven, and he became the first of the *murids*. Another escape equally miraculous, when Hamzad Bey perished in the siege of the fortress of Chunzoh with all the other *murids*, raised him still higher in their estimation, and led to his appointment as successor to Hamzad Bey.

The Czar now sent General Grabbe to the army in the Caucasus, with orders to pursue this Schamyl wherever he might be, as his influence and daring were daily becoming more and more formidable. The general, resolved to attack the lion in his den, went straight to the fortress of Alkucho, where he had taken up his residence. For four long months the fort was battered by the cannon of the Russians, who lost a great number of men. It is even said, that out of fifteen hundred who commenced the assault, only about a hundred returned alive. However, after many desperate efforts, Gen. Grabbe did at last manage to get possession of the fortress. The Russians were in proportion of thirty to one; they slaughtered every body they saw; old men, women, and even children fell victims to their fury. When there remained no single survivor, they sought eagerly among the heaps of the

slain for the body of Schamyl, but it was nowhere to be found. He had escaped, as on the two previous occasions, and in this way.

There was in the sides of the mountain a large cave to which some *murids* had retired, and among them was Schamyl. It was no easy matter to escape, as all the avenues were in sight of the Russians. What could the faithful *murids* do? They sacrificed their lives to save that of the prophet. Finding in the cave some trunks of trees and old planks, they tied them together with cords, to make them into a raft, which they launched upon the river that flowed by the foot of the mountain. Scarcely had they embarked upon it, before the Russians, perceiving them, cried out, "There is Schamyl!" Orders were immediately given to pursue the raft. They did their utmost, dashed into the river with the horses, soon reached the raft, and massacred every one of the *murids* upon it. Surely Schamyl is now dead. Not so; he has escaped. While the attention of the Russians was fixed upon the craft, a man struck out from the cave into the river unobserved, swam across and soon disappeared in the mountains on the opposite side. We may imagine the effect of this third escape upon his countrymen. His defeat contributed even more to his influence among them than any victory, for it proved to all the tribes that he was veritably sent by God and protected by Omnipotence.

After the capture of Alkucho, the unconquerable hero retired to Dargo, whither the Russians, intoxicated with their late success, soon directed their march. Dargo is situated in the midst of steep rocks, on the top of a mountain, towards which there is no approach, except by tortuous defiles and immense forests. Schamyl, bent on revenge, gave orders to the Circassians not to fire a single gun as long as the expeditionary force of General Grabbe was on the march. Then, when the whole troop was completely within his power, he poured down upon it a host of mountaineers from

all sides like a torrent. The Russians, hemmed in both before and behind, and furiously attacked in the flank, were nearly all slain. Never was there a more frightful carnage. General Grabbe, who had counted upon a brilliant victory, with great difficulty escaped, accompanied by a few cossacks. As a mark of the autocrat's displeasure, he was superseded in the command by General Gurko, who was more cautious, but equally unsuccessful. Before the Russians had time to recover from their disaster, Schamyl invaded Awaria, which was allied with Russia, besieged a Russian garrison there, and reduced it by famine to surrender at discretion. Some troops had been sent to its relief, but Schamyl, getting information of their approach, waylaid them and slaughtered every man.

Warned by these disasters, the Czar increased his army, and sent General Kluke to Awaria with a force three times as great as that of Schamyl. Scarcely had he arrived there before Schamyl gave him battle and immediately defeated him. He then pursued him in his flight, overcame him again, and at last drove him to take refuge in the fortress of Chunsach. The warlike prophet was just on the point of taking the place, when General Dolgoroucki arrived with fresh forces. Though he had fought almost incessantly for three months he did not refuse battle. His men rushed upon the enemy like lions, drove them back, and were all but victorious, when they were attacked in the rear, and were obliged to face two armies. Schamyl now performed prodigies. Seeing himself shut in by fire and sword on all sides, he rushed at the head of his men upon a Russian square, threw it into disorder, and made his way through it. The Russians were saved from entire destruction, but many were lost. Schamyl returned, ravaged Awaria, and made prisoners of all the inhabitants. Some weeks afterwards he boldly laid siege to another fortress, occupied by two Russian generals. Thus he blockaded the remains of two armies which had been sent against him one after the other,

and Russia was obliged to despatch a third to deliver them.

Our limits will not permit us to pursue the biography of this remarkable hero to any greater length. Suffice it to say, he is as great a legislator and governor as he is a warrior. For eight-and-twenty years he has maintained an unequal but successful struggle against the Russian autocrat. At the head of a mere handful of men he has completely kept him at bay.

Schamyl is of middle height; his hair is of a bright blond colour; his eyes flash brilliantly from beneath thick, black eyebrows; and his beard is almost white. Notwithstanding his indefatigable activity, he is remarkably abstemious, eats moderately, drinks nothing but water, and sleeps only a few hours.

Such, then, is Schamyl, such the mountaineers of the Caucasus; such the relation between them and Russia at the commencement of the war. A struggle between the Turks and Russians in Asia was inevitable, whether the Caucasians sided with the former, or remained neutral; for the Asiatic boundary between the two empires is not less than 400 miles in extent, in the irregular line from Batoum to Mount Ararat. This celebrated mountain forms the meeting-point of the empires—the Russian, Turkish, and Persian; and from thence to the Black Sea at Batoum, the Russianised countries of Georgia, Imerita, and Mingrelia, confront the rugged regions of Asiatic Turkey.

The effective force of the Turkish army in Asia, at the commencement of the war, amounted to about 36,000 foot, 4000 horse, and 100 guns. During the autumn, 24,000 Bashi-Bazouks and other irregulars joined the army; and, in addition, a fresh levy was ordered in Syria and Anatolia. Two-thirds of these troops were encamped at Kars, under Abdi Pasha; the greater half of the third part was at Batoum, under Selim Pasha; and the remainder in the vicinity of Bayazid, under another Selim Pasha.

At the same time, the strength of the Russian army

of the Caucasus, as it was called, was powerful, and numbered about 80,000 men; but it was scattered over a vast extent of territory, which it was called upon to defend. One portion of duty was to defend the frontier-line running along the base of the mountains, from the Black Sea to the Caspian; another, to occupy the ports and fortified posts of the Crimea; a third, to maintain the forts on the north-east of the Black Sea, such as Anapa and Soudjuk Kalé; a fourth, in the protection of the great military road over the Caucasus from Vladikaukus to Tiflis; a fifth, in watching the movements of Schamyl up in the mountains; and a sixth, in guarding the frontier-line on the southern base of the Caucasus. These duties left but a small force to repel any hostile attack on the part of the Turks;—at most, about 25,000 men, disposed in five positions—viz. 10,000 men at Gumri; a smaller portion in the Upper Koor valley; a third part in the province of Gouriel; a fourth, on the main road from Erivan to Bayasid; while the fifth was kept as a disposable reserve at Tiflis.

The officers connected with the Turkish army in Asia were composed of a number of foreigners from various countries—Hungarians, Poles, Italians, and others; some, no doubt, possessed of those qualifications requisite for stations of military authority, whilst others might be deficient of the necessary talent. But the system adopted by the Turkish government in appointing officers to posts of military responsibility was very bad; for favouritism characterized the appointments in too many instances.

At the time when the sultan declared war against Russia, the year 1853 was far advanced, and little chance occurred for hostilities in Asia. Klapka asserts that the Turkish commander should have guarded his army against partial losses, by remaining strictly on the defensive in respect to the Russian main army opposite Kars; and should have struck a well-planned and rapid blow against Erivan, in Russian

Armenia, as a means of obtaining the aid of the inhabitants of the Lower Koor, who are always ready to act against the Muscovites. Abdi Pasha adopted one of these plans, but neglected the other; he posted part of his army as a corps of observation near Kars, and placed the rest in winter-quarters at Erzeroum as a reserve. He received orders from Constantinople, however, to commence an active attack, leaving to his own judgment the selection of place and circumstances.

All around this neighbourhood is a region of rugged mountains. The pashalic of Erzeroum is the most important in Asia Minor, extending over a population of 800,000 souls, distributed in 1500 villages and a few large towns. The chief city itself, Erzeroum, is roundly estimated to contain 40,000 inhabitants, besides the garrison, of which number 30,000 are Osmanlis; for here, as in Asiatic Turkey, the real Turks are found mostly in the towns, while the villages are chiefly inhabited by Armenians, or other Christian natives.

Kars and Tiflis are north-east of Erzeroum; Erivan and Bayazid are nearly east; and Trebisond north-west. From Erzeroum to Trebisond it is 180 miles; from Kars to Erzeroum, 150; and from Tiflis to Erzeroum, 250 miles.

While Abdi Pasha was executing the operations intrusted to him, Zarif Mustapha Pasha, governor of the province of Erzeroum, collected a body of Bashi-Bazouks, crossed from Ardahan into the district of Akhaltsik (Akhiska), and impetuously attacked a small body of Russians there posted. The Russians retreated, shut themselves up in the fortress of Akhaltsik, and were there besieged by Mustapha, aided by an additional body of troops sent to him. In the mean time, the main Turkish army crossed the frontier near the river Arpachai, and established a camp upon Russian ground, as a base for an offensive movement against Gumri. The last-named fortress is an im-

portant defence for the city of Tiflis, the capital of Georgia, and was well looked to by the Russians during the war. At first, the plan of Abdi Pasha seemed likely to be attended with some success; but he was without a siege-train; the winter set in with great severity, and his Bashi-Bazouks had devastated the country all around, rendering the labours of the Turkish commissariat exceedingly difficult. He was obliged to retreat from Gumri to Kars; the Russians followed him, overtook his army about midway between the two towns, at a place called Gedikler, and utterly routed them. The Russians, deeming a further advance imprudent, retreated to Gumri, where they fortified and provisioned themselves for the winter, while the Turks similarly retreated to winter at Kars. This was not the only discomfiture experienced by the Turks. While Abdi Pasha was thus sustaining a defeat at Gedikler, Zarif Mustapha Pasha was equally unfortunate at Akhaltsik; the Russian garrison of this place, receiving an augmentation of force under General Andronikoff, was enabled to attack and defeat the Turks who were besieging the fortress, and to drive them over the frontier back to Ardahan. These twofold defeats, at Gedikler and Akhaltsik, depressed the Turkish troops, annoyed the government, and led to the deposition of Abdi Pasha. The Turks in Asia Minor had no Omar Pasha among them, and were not well commanded.

There were two circumstances occurred to render these successes less advantageous to the Russians than they otherwise might have been. A heavy fall of snow, presaging the immediate approach of stern winter, put an end to any further operations near Kars; while Schamyl, at a time when the Russians were engaged in another direction, suddenly descended from his mountains to the plains of Georgia at the head of 16,000 horse, fired 200 small villages, and carried away as hostages several Russian ladies, who were residing in their country-houses near Tiflis. The Russians, to

expel these intruders, found themselves called upon to confine their attention during the winter mainly to the vicinity of Tiflis and Gumri.

Trebizond is situated on the Black Sea. It was a colony of Sinope, and was founded by the Milesians. It is famous in history as the resting-place of the ten thousand Greeks after their famous retreat. They remained a month. They ate some honey in the neighbourhood, from which many of the soldiers died; and Tournefort, the celebrated traveller, explains this by mentioning the poisonous plants which the bees fed on. The Romans took possession of this town during the war with Mithridates. It became a free town. About two hundred and fifty years before Christ it was a large and opulent place, but was then plundered by the Scythians. It did not recover until the reign of Justinian, who restored it to its old grandeur. It is now called Trabesar by the Turks. Its present population is said to be about forty thousand. Its castle is remarkable. It possesses a bazaar, beautiful marble baths, and a temple of Apollo, now a Greek church.

As a seaport, Trebizond is next to Odessa, in the Black Sea, and has a regular communication by steamer with Constantinople. It is to a certain degree picturesquely situated.

As the spring of 1854 advanced, the Turks strengthened themselves at Kars, and the Russians at Gumri. Reinforcements were received by both—more especially the Turks; but the sultan's forces unfortunately suffered in consequence of the wrangles between the officers; the Poles were in many cases jealous of the Hungarians, and the Osmanlis jealous of both. Had not the Russians been doubtful concerning the intentions of the vacillating court of Persia, an attack on the Turkish positions would in all probability have been made in spring; but, distrusting their own safety, they postponed their advance.

The first hostile encounter in the year was a small

affair. Towards the end of April, about 3000 Cossacks and Russian infantry, with a battery of guns, left Gumri, crossed the river Arpachai, and attacked an outpost of Bashi Bazouks at the village of Engené; they killed a few, took a few more prisoners, and then returned to Gumri. During April and May, the Turks at Kars were regularly drilled, to fit them for an evidently approaching conflict with the Russians. In this necessary work, however, the best arrangements were certainly not made. None of the European officers were regimentally employed; they were appointed to the staff headed by Guyon, and were employed as inspectors of artillery practice, instructors in cavalry movements, and overseers of the commissariat; these services were valuable, in so far as the jealousy of the Turkish pashas permitted their development; but even then the troops lost the benefit of the aid that might have been derived from the Hungarian generals in all that related to regimental drilling. The army at Kars having at that time reached 25,000, Guyon advised a march across the river Arpachai, to be followed by the seizure of Erivan; and the troops were themselves eager to advance to action; but Guyon was outvoted by the Osmanli pashas at the council of war, and nothing was done. This council was held on the 18th of May; and the few Englishmen who were then with the army were forcibly struck with the contrast between the men and their leaders, in all that related to courage, activity, and honesty. The sultan indeed, throughout the war, was inefficiently supported by his generals, except in a few instances.

Kars, thus likely to be the scene of the contest between the opposing forces, was at one period the capital of a petty Armenian kingdom of the same name; but it had fallen greatly in importance, and at the breaking out of the war, it was scarcely known to Europe. Merchants stopped there, on their road to and from Persia; but it was a poor, dull place; and hence the inhabitants, about 15,000 in number, became great-

ly excited when their town was occupied by the Turkish army. The inhabitants suffered before the troops advanced towards Gumri in October 1850; they suffered still more after the disastrous defeat; and the ensuing winter and spring brought them little relief, for the pashas were wont to seize all the humble stores of the shopkeepers and peasants, leaving the question of payment in a very unsettled state. The town is commanded by an extensive castle, built while the Genoese were possessed of this district; the castle, now nearly crumbled into ruins, stands perched on a rocky hill, at the foot of which flows the little river Karschai. This hill is, however, overtopped by one still higher, on the opposite side of the river, the Kare-dagh or Black mountain; and when prince Paskévitch attacked Kars in a former war, he obtained control both over the town and the castle by occupying this higher hill with a few guns. One of the duties which the Turks undertook in the spring of 1854 was to crown this Kara-dagh with defences, which Guyon recommended should consist of eight redoubts, carrying 48 guns. The whole of the adult males of Kars were forced to assist in constructing these earthworks, which by degrees assumed formidable proportions.

Gumri, in possession of the Russians, had been rendered much stronger than Kars; having as many as 150 mounted cannon, many of them casemated. The distance between Kars and Gumri is less than twelve leagues; and the Russians, by means of spies, knew perfectly well what was transpiring at Kars, while the indolent Turkish commander at Kars made no efforts to gain a knowledge of what was taking place at Gumri. Many of the emissaries sent by or to Schamyl to concert measures with the pasha, were intercepted by the Russians; and Zarif Mustapha, the Turkish commander, continued in ignorance even of the proceedings of Selim Pasha at Batoum. In the month of June, the opposing armies drew nearer to each other. In the preceding month 500 Russians, with four field-pieces,

had crossed the Arpachai into the Turkish territory, pitched their tents, and threw up a field-work, indicating an intention on the part of Prince Bebutoff to begin hostilities. On the 9th of June four regiments of the Russian cavalry, one of infantry, and fifteen guns, left Gumri, and took up a position at Technits, on the Arpachai; here they encountered a body of Bashi-Bazouks, under the Hungarian Kmeti, when a skirmish ensued, followed by the retreat of both parties to their different camps.

It was, however, high time that active operations should be commenced; for the bullet and the sword would have been less destructive to the Turks, than the ravages of disease to which they were exposed. From November 1853 to June 1854 the Ottoman army in and around Kars had been reduced 10,000 men by typhus, hunger, cold, and other privations, most of which might have been avoided, if the pashas had been in possession of a moderate amount of skill and honesty. The Russian army did not fare much better. Two Regiments of the sixth corps d'armée had been nine months marching from Moscow to Gumri, over the Caucasus, amid sore privations; and even those quartered near Tiflis had been swept off in large numbers by disease. At a council of war, held at Kars, General Guyon propounded a well-skilled plan for an attack on the Russians, which, had it been adopted by the incapable Zarif Mustapha, would, in all probability, have been attended with complete success. But he had not the penetration requisite to appreciate the advantages of such a plan; and an army of 30,000 was allowed to remain discontented and inactive; now suffering as much from the intolerable heat, as it had before endured from rigorous cold. Mr. Duncan, a writer on this part of the campaign, asserts that, had Guyon and Kmeti been permitted to command the army, within two months Tiflis would have been captured, and the Russian forces cut to pieces, or driven out of Georgia, across the Caucasus; so much larger was the

Turkish army at this time at Kars, than that of the Russian force at Gumri. The Ottomans now numbered 40,000, with 120 pieces of artillery; while it was believed that the Russian force did not much exceed 20,000.

At the beginning of July, the garrison of Gumri, 15,000 strong, sallied forth under Prince Bebutoff, crossed the Arpachai, and took up positions near the valley of Kurekdere and Ingedere, at about one hour's march only from Sobattan and Hadgi-Velikoi, at that time occupied by the Turkish outposts. There is a small mountain near the two villages; and this mountain the Russians began immediately to fortify. On the 3d, Zarif Mustapha, vacillating between many plans suggested by his pashas, moved his army from Kars to Hadgi-Velikoi, and traced out an encampment. Here he was soon joined by Kerim Pasha, who brought the Turkish left wing from Ardahan, while Bebutoff in like manner received reinforcements which raised his army to 28,000; insomuch that there were now assembled nearly 70,000 Russian and Turkish troops, in the vicinity of the four villages above named. The Turks formed two camps, with Bashi-Bazouks in the van and on the flanks, and the cavalry and artillery in the centre. The advanced camp or division was placed under Kerim Pasha, while Zarif Mustapha himself took the command of the rear division. The Turks had a small mountain in front of them, like as the Russians; and these two mountains were occupied as observatories by the staffs of the respective armies.

The incompetent Turkish commander at length resolved on an attack. On the 12th, he left his position, and advanced to within two miles of the Russian encampment. The Russians also advanced, and formed in order of battle. Kmeti began to skirmish with his Bashi-Bazouks, while the cavalry manœuvred to the flanks, and the artillery advanced to the front. Just at this moment a storm broke forth, with a violence

hardly known before in that district; the ground was speedily converted into a deep morass; the Russians retreated to their encampment, and Zarif Mustapha ordered a similar retreat. This unexpected event greatly disappointed the Turkish troops; they had braced themselves up to a bold and soldierly achievement, and there can hardly be a doubt that they would have acquitted themselves well if their efforts had been well directed by their commander. Many wet, stormy days succeeded, and the Turks became disheartened, while Zarif exhibited the utmost bewilderment in attempting to decide whether to advance or to do nothing. From the moment when the advance of the army from Kars was made, the unruly Kurds who inhabit the mountain districts began to make predatory excursions; the roads between Trebizond, Erzeroum, and Kars were rendered unsafe and the unhappy villagers suffered greatly.

General Kmeti, with his Bashi-Bazouks, during the night of the 16th, made a very spirited attack on the extreme flank of the Russians. Dividing his horsemen into three columns, he got to their rear without detection, and then advanced silently to Baindir, a village near Gumri, defended by a body of Cossacks and Georgian militia. At day-break, one column attacked the village; one assailed the redoubts manned by the Russians, while a third remained in reserve. The Bashi-Bazouks completely routed the enemy, taken thus suddenly by surprise; but the main Russian army now approached; and Kmeti and his active troops succeeded in returning by another route to the Turkish camp, and bringing in five prisoners, and 400 sheep. This daring act greatly delighted the Turks. Kmeti had offered to capture Gumri itself, with his Bashi-Bazouks, but his timid commander would not permit him to make the attempt.

On the 22nd, another night attack was planned by the Hungarian, to which Zarif Mustapha promised the aid of the regular troops. Shortly before daybreak,

Kmeti charged with his Bashi-Bazouks at the centre of the Russian camp, and penetrated into the very tents of the enemy, capturing the first line of outposts. Speedily was he surrounded by the whole Russian army, and then it was that he looked for support from the regulars. But where were these? Zarif Mustapha, as usual—timid, irresolute, incompetent—did nothing; no regulars appeared, although ardent and eager to be engaged; and Kmeti had no resource but to cut his way back to the Turkish camp, losing many by the way, and burning with indignation at the unworthy treatment which he had received from his commander. The Bashi-Bazouks, under this heroic man, had shown themselves susceptible of orderly discipline; they had, indeed, acted as a light cavalry of an efficient kind, far better than Omar Pasha had been able to obtain for his Danubian campaign; and bitterly they lamented that the mushir of the army of Asia was utterly unequal to the duties of his high command. Little wonder that many of these primitive irregulars disbanded, and returned to their homes.

August arrived, and with it a conviction that unless the Turkish commander speedily attempted something definite, his army would melt away or become disorganised. On the 5th, a night-attack was resolved upon; Kerim Pasha to command the right division, Vely Pasha the left, and the mushir himself to superintend both—or to spoil both, as the case might be. Guyon marked out the plan of the attack; but his plan was not practically carried out.

On Sunday the 6th of August, was fought a battle which covered Zarif Mustapha with disgrace, and undid all that the Turks had effected in Asia, whether much or little, during the year 1854.

In the dead of the night, the Turks left their encampment and began the march. The first mistake made manifest was, that the right division reached the enemy long before the left could come up to its support, in obedience to a stupid order by Zarif that the

left should halt two hours, that daylight might assist its progress. The consequence was, that when the Russians—who were to have been taken by a night-surprise—saw that the right division was thus isolated, they at once concentrated all their troops upon it, and commenced active proceedings before the left could arrive. The Turkish forces comprised 12 battalions of Arabistan infantry, 20 of Anatolian, 16 of rédif, and 2 of rifles—making 20,000 infantry; together with 3700 cavalry, 1300 artillery, and 78 guns. The Russians counted 20 battalions of infantry, 26 squadrons of dragoons, 4000 irregular cavalry, and 800 artillery, with 64 guns. Each army consisted of about 25,000 men; but the Turks had also 8000 or 10,000 Bashi-Bazouks, who were, however, not engaged in this battle. If Guyon's plan had been followed, the two divisions of Turks would have attacked the Russians simultaneously, while a third Turkish corps would have obtained possession of the heights which commanded the enemy's encampment. But Zarif Mustapha ruined the scheme, and comfortably smoked his chibouque while the right division was about to be attacked by nearly the whole Russian force. This division, under Kerim Pasha, numbered about 10,000 men. The artillery opened fire on both sides. The Russian infantry advanced, but were repelled by the Turks. The Russian dragoons then bore down at high speed, and with a loud cheer rushed upon the Turks, who, seized with a panic, turned and fled, leaving their artillery unprotected. This artillery then bore a series of terrific attacks from the dragoons; both sides behaved courageously, and the fire was murderous. The Russian infantry made a second attack in large force against the battalions of rédif, who then witnessed fire for the first time; the result was disastrous, for the rédif turned and fled wildly towards Kars. The more disciplined Turkish troops seemed to have been chiefly in the left division, unfortunately absent when most wanted. Meanwhile, the dragoons, after repeated attacks, captured the guns,

the Turkish artillerymen remaining steadfast until nearly the last man was cut off. The dragoons, previously almost maddened with drink, then rushed indiscriminately at infantry, cavalry, and artillery; and the Turks, completely paralysed by the impetuosity of the onslaught, gave way in all quarters; the cavalry fled, the infantry were mowed down, the artillery-horses were shot, and the guns were captured. All the efforts of Kerim Pasha to re-form his division were vain. By this time the left division had arrived, and opened a vigorous cannonade on the Russians. For a time the tide turned. Kmeti attacked the Russian infantry vigorously; Tahir Pasha poured in a terrible fire from the artillery under his command; and Guyon bore down with 4000 cavalry on the Russian masses which began to waver. This was the critical moment —fatally critical for the Turks. The cavalry, coming suddenly upon a Russian infantry regiment at a spot where none was expected, were seized with so resistless a terror, that they fled panic-stricken, leaving Guyon alone with his personal staff. These cowardly horsemen communicated a panic to the Bashi-Basouks, who in their turn threw the infantry into such inextricable confusion that the generals lost command over them. All fled together in wild confusion towards Kars, pursued by the grapeshot of the Russian artillery and the sabres of the dragoons.

Thus ended the disastrous battle of Kurekdere. The Turks lost 3500 in killed and wounded, and 2000 prisoners; while the Russians acknowledged a loss of more than 3000 in killed and wounded. The Russian dragoons and the Turkish artillery greatly distinguished themselves, Had the Turkish cavalry possessed any soldierly qualities, they might have redeemed even the disasters occasioned by Zarif Mustapha's folly; but they and the untried rédifs ruined all. The Russian officers were brave throughout, heading their men in all the charges, insomuch that no less than 111 of their number were killed or wounded; whereas the Osmanli offi-

cers lurked in coward fashion in rear of their troops, with very few exceptions. Bitter must have been the anger of Kmeti and Guyon to witness such conduct. Kerim Pasha, second in command, was one among the small number of exceptions; he was a brave old man, and exerted himself indefatigably to keep up the courage of his troops. The defeat was most complete; for not only did the Turks lose 5000 to 6000 men, but 6000 more fled in dismay to their homes after the battle, while the remaining moiety returned towards Kars in a state of the utmost disorganisation.

Before closing our notice of this disastrous Turkish campaign in Asia in 1854, we will briefly allude to the proceedings of the subsidiary forces in other parts of Armenia and Georgia.

Selim Pasha, who commanded the Turks in the neighbourhood of Batoum, sent forward on the 9th of June, 3000 Bashi-Bazouks and half a battalion of regulars, to attack two redoubts about twenty miles from Orzugheti, on the road to Kutais. The Turks were ignorant of the numbers and position of the Russians, and were defeated with great loss. A still more serious defeat followed Selim's army near Orzugheti on the 16th, when the Turks lost about 2000 men. Selim was forced to retreat to Churuk-su; and the victorious Russian commander was able to spare troops to swell the main army at Gumri. Another attack upon Selim, between the 18th and 19th, produced some success to the Russian arms, but not of much importance. Selim Pasha was summoned to Constantinople, to answer for his ill-luck, and was succeeded by Mustapha Pasha, who had distinguished himself at Oltenitza, under Omar Pasha.

There were some minor operations took place at Ardahan; but these principally consisted of skirmishing. At Bayazid, however, near the frontier line of Mount Ararat, the Turks met with a serious defeat. The Turks, 5000 in number, were commanded by Selim Pasha (not the unlucky Selim at Batoum); and, as

they were weak, Selim was recommended not to make any attack on the Russians, but to retreat on Kars or Erzeroum, if pressed by the Russians. This advice he neglected: and, having gone to meet a Russian force of 8000, under General Wrangel, Selim encountered a total defeat, leaving 1500 dead, wounded, and prisoners. It is astonishing how the Russian generals can have the effrontery to practise deceptions, so egregiously in exaggerating the number of their opponents, when sending their accounts forth to meet the public eye. Wrangel stated that the Turks were 15,000; and that 8000 were left dead on the field.

Schamyl's name has been but little mentioned in this section. The mountain-warrior was not engaged in any regular actions; but there is no doubt but he continually influenced and perplexed the movements of the Russians; and, had he earlier been supplied with arms and ammunition by the Allies, there can be no question that he might have given a different turn to the campaign. During the summer, Schamyl frequently threatened Tiflis, and so distracted the attention of the Russians, that if Guyon had commanded at Kars instead of Zarif, the Turks would almost for certain have fought a winning campaign.

When the disasters of August arrived, it was unquestionably Schamyl who prevented the Russians from following up their advantage. He threatened Tiflis with 16,000 men; and Prince Bebutoff was forced to send back a large portion of his army from Gumri to repel this attack. On the 1st of September —with part of his force at Akhalgori; part at Gori, on the river Koor; and part at Mycht, near Tiflis— Schamyl surprised and beat off the Russians, took much booty and many prisoners of high rank, and rendered it imperative that Bebutoff should suspend all further operations in Armenia. Advantages were gained by the Lesghian chieftain also at Pekhalon, Tavi, Childi, Alaza, Kavaril, Kaktala, and other places whose names are scarcely to be met with on the maps, over the

Russians generals Wrangel and Tchartchatz. In short, Schamyl, although his name appears in a flitting, meteor-like way, assisted the Turks more effectually than their English and French allies had up to this time done. The Emperor Napoleon sent him 12,000 muskets in September; but those muskets would have rendered better service if despatched earlier.

The year 1854 closed in Asia in this manner. The Turks, utterly broken and disorganised at the battle of Kurekdere, could do nothing more than remain on the defensive at Kars; while the Russians, afraid of Schamyl and his mountaineers, durst not advance westwards of Gumri lest they should be attacked. Kars and Gumri remained the head-quarters of the two armies at the end of the year, as they had been at the beginning; but the Turks had been weakened in the directions of Bayazid and Ardahan, while the Russians had become masters of the roads between Turkey and Persia.

The chief cause of the disastrous result of the Turkish arms in the Asiatic campaign of 1854, is to be attributed in a great measure to the want of skill and energy in their chief officers; for the troops, when properly led, have, on more than one occasion, displayed instances of courage and bravery excelled by few. Mr. Duncan, a gentleman whose judgment on the merits of the Ottoman troops is to be relied on, thus speaks of the rank and file of the Turkish force:—"The causes that have largely contributed to weigh down the existing virtuous elements in the Ottoman army, are the corruption and incapacity that prevail among its higher ranks, and the disgraceful ignorance which distinguishes its subaltern officers. The Turkish private soldier, if well directed, is capable of great deeds; but the corps of officers and non-commissioned officers are alike inefficient and unsusceptible of improvement. Promotion by merit alone is unheard of in the Ottoman service. The subaltern ranks are filled by the personal slaves or domestics of the pashas; and such

commissions are often the wages of disgrace. Promotion to the superior ranks is obtainable only by bribery or intrigue; the grade of colonel or pasha is purchased by the highest bidder; who subsequently recovers the sum he has disbursed, by defrauding his regiment, or robbing the government. The simplest military rules are ignored by the officers, who are often withdrawn from a civil appointment to occupy a high military position. This was the case with the commander-in-chief of the army of Anatolia, Zarif Mustapha Pasha."

General Williams, an English officer of engineers, was appointed British Military-Commissioner to the Turkish army in Asia. As a sort of authoritative adviser in military matters, he might possibly have exerted some influence over Zarif; but he did not reach Kars until September, when the mischief had been already achieved. He was a man who knew well the Turks and the Turkish language, and was much liked among them; on this account, his presence a month or two earlier would have been especially valuable. But in this appointment, as in many other particulars, the movements of the Allies were tardy.

We must now direct the attention of the reader to what was occurring in some portions of European Turkey. Russian agents were at work in Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, Turkish Croatia, Herzegóvina, and Montenegro; and by intrigue and stratagem were endeavouring to Russianize the feelings of the people, and wean them from their attachment to the Ottoman power. The principal actors in this drama were priests connected with the Greek Church; and their object was in a great measure to promote discord among the different religious sects which were spread over these provinces.

In Bulgaria the inhabitants mostly profess the Greek faith; and the priests of the villages abundantly showed during the campaign that they were heart and hand with the czar. Russian emissaries, both lay and cle-

rical, represented to the simple Bulgarians that the Emperor Nicholas was their great protector, and would avenge the harsh usage they had received from the Osmanlis in past ages. Happily the success of Omar Pasha, and the presence of the Allies at Varna, prevented Russia from fomenting an insurrection in Bulgaria.

Proceeding westward from Bulgaria, we come to Servia, which is now nearly as free as a tributary state can be. At the commencement of the war Russian intrigue was busy in Servia; emissaries endeavoured to embroil the Servians with the sultan; but there was a spirit of nationality manifested. Servia refused to permit a Turkish army to traverse the province on its way from Bosnia to Widdin; she warded off the entrance of an Austrian army; and she had a sufficient insight into the nature of Russian protection, to keep her guard against the mischievous intrigues of the czar. Servia continued unmolested.

In Bosnia and Turkish Croatia, Austrian intrigue is more predominant than Russian; there being a preponderance of adherents to the Roman Catholic faith over those of the Greek Church. But as each of these sects are unfavourable to Islamism the efforts of each were employed in fomenting discontent to Turkish power. But nothing occurred of a serious nature.

In Montenegro, however, matters assumed a more threatening aspect. There were frequent collisions between those who braved and those who defended the Turkish authority; but the Turks succeeded in repelling the Montenegrins. The vladika, in March, issued a proclamation, calling upon all the mountaineers to declare whether they would join him in a hostile attack upon Turkey, "to shed their blood for the Holy Cross, orthodox faith, and their country" —language precisely similar to that used at the same time by the czar and his generals. 4000 men came forward in a crusading spirit; and 20,000 armed men, in all, were ready to join in any pressing exigency. Various plans were arranged; but Austria interfered, and put a stop to further proceedings.

A brief allusion to the attack on the Turkish borders will close this chapter. Many of our readers will know that previous to 1827, Greece was tributary to Turkey; in that year however it was formed into an independent state; Otho, the younger son of the king of Bavaria, being appointed to reign over the newly-formed kingdom. At the formation of the new state, many Greeks were spread abroad in various Turkish provinces; and, of course, these Greeks remained subject to Ottoman rule. Discontent and dissatisfaction were engendered and fostered amongst these parties by the emissaries of Russia; and matters went so far in 1854 as to establish secret societies for the purpose of devising plans for the avowed object of fomenting a revolt, and depriving Turkey of all authority over those professing the faith of the Greek Church. It was manifest that the young king, Otho, secretly encouraged these proceedings of the disaffected, and that matters were assuming a very serious aspect. The Turkish government became uneasy; and the governments of England and France began to bestir themselves in the matter. A small English and Turkish flotilla sailed from Constantinople to the Gulf of Volo, to watch the movements in Thessaly; while Admiral Dundas sent a few ships to the Gulf of Arta, to protect Prevesa and other parts of the coast of Epirus. The two gulfs here named mark, respectively, the east and west termini of the boundary-line between the two kingdoms. Ships, however, could render little aid to the towns and villages in the interior. The insurgents obtained possession of the defile of Pente Pegadia, on the only road from Janina to Arta; and hence the Turkish pasha of the former place experienced more difficulty in sending any reinforcements to Arta, which was one of the foci of the insurrection. In the port of Arta itself, a Greek gun-boat sank the Turkish guard-ship, before the English vessels arrived. An action took place near Arta, on 28d February, in which the insurgents defeated the Turks; and hence the latter, although retaining the citadel of Arta, lost possession of the town.

Matters had now arrived at a pitch too serious for the Turkish government to remain longer quiet. Until the month of March, the Turkish chargé d'affaires, Nusret Bey, remained at Athens, complaining and protesting in vain against the proceedings of the Greek government. He demanded on the part of his court, the prosecution of those who had crossed the frontier, should they ever return within it; and the exercise of control over one or two newspapers, which systematically promulgated the most violent doctrines respecting the extermination of the Osmanlis and their religion. The king refused his assent; the Porte withdrew its representative from Athens about the end of March; the chargé d'affaires of Greece was withdrawn from Constantinople; and diplomatic relations ceased between the two countries. One consequence of this series of events was most disastrous. Turkey contains a vast number of Greeks, and the Porte ordered the departure of such of their number as were subjects of the king of Greece. Constantinople itself contained at that time 25,000 or 30,000 of such Greeks, who had sore reason to deplore the weak folly of their sovereign. They were all ordered to quit Turkey within a specified time. A resident at Constantinople, in April, said that every steamer which left that city for the Archipelago was crowded with human beings, so thickly wedged together that to walk the decks was impossible. Most of these wretched creatures had been reduced to the depths of poverty; and when thrown ashore, friendless and destitute, in Greece, three-fourths of the men went to swell the ranks of the Thessalian insurgents, or took to their old trade of piracy in the Ægean.

A Turkish force of 1700 men, under Fuad Effendi, sent direct from Constantinople, met with the insurgents at Peta, near to Arta, and utterly defeated them. A mass of correspondence was seized, which plainly proved the complicity of the Greek government in the insurrection. After the defeat at Peta, many of the insurgents returned home, panic-struck; and, though

partial success attended the efforts of the insurgents in other places, yet their endeavours as a whole were futile.

In the middle of May, the English and French governments determined to send a combined military force of 6000 or 7000 men, to be placed under the command of the French General, Torey. This force was to proceed to the Pireus, the port of Athens, to take possession of that port, and to remain there until the infatuated king should see his error. This had the desired effect. The king awoke from his dream; acknowledged his error; and everything was conceded to Turkey and her Allies.

CHAPTER VI.

The Baltic Sea—Sir C. Napier—The Allied Fleets in the Baltic—Operations in the Baltic—Cronstadt—Bo bsalsment and Capture of Bomarsund—The Pacific and White Sea.

The name of the Baltic is familiar to all. English poets have sung the battle of the Baltic, and many an Englishman has loved to sail on the waters along which sailed the Norseman of an earlier day. In modern times the ships of our merchantmen have become as familiar with its ports as with those of our native land, and now, when it was to be visited by one of the most magnificent fleets the world ever witnessed, the Baltic Sea became doubly interesting.

Most of our readers, we take it, understand the position of the Baltic, which is usually understood to commence south of the Danish Islands, and is thus unquestionably the most nearly isolated of any similar body of water in the world. It is about 840 miles long; its width varies from 75 to 150 miles, and its area is estimated at about 155,000 square miles, without including the Kattegat and Skager Rock. No part of the world is better watered than the region of the Baltic. Upwards of two hundred and forty rivers find their way into it. The lakes in its neighbourhood are all but innumerable, and altogether, this sea drains more than a fifth part of the whole surface of Europe. In the latitude of Stockholm the Baltic separates into two great gulfs, of which one, the Gulf of Finland, runs nearly due east, between the Russian territories of Finland and Revel; the other, the Gulf of Bothnia, a little

east of north, between Finland and Sweden. The Baltic is extremely shallow and tideless; but though tides are wanting, at irregular intervals a variation in height, frequently equal to three and a half Swedish feet, is observed. This phenomenon, says M'Culloch, occurs at all seasons, but chiefly in the autumn or winter, or at the time of heavy rain, or when the atmosphere is charged with clouds, though unattended with falling weather. The water maintains its height frequently for several days, sometimes even for weeks; produces considerable agitation in the gulfs and straits, and, except in winter, when its power is restrained by the accumulated snow and ice, inundates the low lands to a considerable extent. Prevalent winds, flooding rains, melting snows, and many other causes have been assigned for this very remarkable phenomenon, which continued, however, to occur under circumstances totally incompatible with all or any of these; but in 1804, a Swedish physician, after collecting all the observations that had been made, found that the greatest height corresponded to the greatest depression of the barometrical column, and conversely. The Baltic is remarkably transparent. A gentleman, when living on its borders, often heard of cases where parties, principally Englishmen, had been drowned, owing to their having, while bathing, jumped into the water, thinking it shallower than it really was. It contains also a very small proportion of salt. This freshness of the water, combined with its shallowness and confined situation, renders the Baltic peculiarly liable to congelation. In fact, it is every year encumbered with ice, and its straits are usually impassable from December till April. Severe frosts made the sea passable in its widest parts between Denmark and Prussia in 1323, 1389, 1423, and 1429. The climate, like that of all Europe, and more especially of Germany, has become more mild under the effects of better drainage and cultivation; but even within recent times Charles XII. marched across the Sound and the two

Belts to the attack of Denmark; and so late as 1809 a Russian army crossed the Gulf of Bothnia on the ice. The Romans knew but little of the Baltic. In the imperfect knowledge of those days, it was the theatre of the wonders which always cease to exist as knowledge increases and men become better informed. The origin of the name Baltic is, of course, a moot point with etymologists. Some derive it from the Spanish *belta* or girdle; others from the word *balta*, which in the Lithuanian tongue means white. The inhabitants of its shores call it the Oost Sea (Eastern Sea) to distinguish it from the Atlantic or Western Ocean.

The entrance to the Baltic from the Atlantic is by a large gulf called the Kattegat, which separates Denmark from Norway and Sweden, and by three straits —the Sound, the Great Belt, and the Little Belt— which may be considered the three gates by which the Baltic is entered. Having passed the pine-crowned cliffs of Norway, and threaded the numerous small isles of the Kattegat, we approach these formidable gates. The southernmost, or Little Belt, which separates the peninsula of Jutland from the island of Funen, is too long, the navigation too intricate, and the depth of water too variable, to be attempted by large vessels. The middle entrance, the Great Belt, separates the islands of Funen and Zealand. Its navigation, owing to innumerable little islands and shoals, is also dangerous. The third entrance, the Sound, through which our fleet passed, separates Sweden from the island of Zealand. It is about twenty miles long, and at the entrance, where it is narrowest, it only a mile and a half across. The fortress of Kronburg is about twenty-five miles from Copenhagen. It is placed at the extremity of the tongue of land on which stand the town and castle of Elsinore, and commands the entrance of the Sound. The whole of these three entrances are completely fortified, and are as much the keys of the Baltic as the castles and fortresses of the Dardanelles are the keys of the Black Sea and Constantinople; and it

really seems, as a recent writer has well remarked, as if nature had thus interposed obstacles to the ambitious designs of Russia, by placing her, as it were, under arrest in her own vast dominions, with sentries at her only points of egress, both on the north and south. The northern shore of the Baltic is generally high and precipitous, and covered with magnificent pine forests, producing timber of the finest quality. The southern coasts, on the contrary, are low and marshy, and lined by numerous sand-banks, thus rendering the navigation perilous.

When the despatch of a formidable fleet to the Baltic was ordered, the command was given to Sir Charles Napier, whose long and brilliant service in various parts of the world had won for him a high reputation. Indeed, the delight with which the appointment was hailed was rather perilous to the veteran himself; since the disappointment would be the greater if circumstances should prevent him from achieving any great results. During the period of no less than fifty-four years, Napier had been battling either against human antagonists, or against winds, and waves, and storms. As a volunteer in the *Martin* and the *Renown*; as a midshipman in the *Greyhound*; as lieutenant during a short period; as a commander in the *Pultusk* and the *Recruit*; as a captain in the *Furieuse* and the *Euryalus*—the gallant officer had seen service in almost every part of the world, even before the peace of 1815. Fourteen years of peace left him without employment; but in 1829 he commenced a new career; he was for three years captain of the *Galatea*; he then commanded Don Pedro's fleet in the contest against Don Miguel concerning the crown of Portugal; and next, as commodore, he rendered brilliant service under Admiral Stopford off the coast of Syria. This last achievement won for him the honour of K.C.B. and an aide-de-camp to the Queen, and insignia from Russia and Prussia. In 1846, Commodore Napier became rear-admiral; and in 1853, vice-admiral.

The vessels destined for this Baltic war assembled at Spithead; and the review of the fleet by Her Majesty was a spectacle worthy of the queen of a maritime nation. A review on the same spot in the previous August had produced a great impression, as a manifestation of the naval power of Britain; but the display in March was yet more grand. Sir Charles Napier's fleet was to consist of about 44 ships-of-war, manned by upwards of 22,000 seamen, mounting about 2200 guns, and propelled by 16,000 horse-power of steam. Only six out of the whole number were to be sailing-vessels—the *Neptune*, 120; *St. George*, 120; *Prince Regent*, 90; *Boscawen*, 70; *Monarch*, 84; *Cumberland*, 70—all the rest being either screw or paddle steamers. It was arranged that some of these should form a first division, to start under Sir Charles Napier; that others, as a second division, should follow under Admiral Corry; and that the rest should be subsequently despatched. Sir Charles's division consisted entirely of steamers, sixteen in number; comprising 8 screw line-of-battle ships, 4 screw-frigates, and 4 paddle-steamers. The *Duke of Wellington* and the *Royal George* were three-deckers. Sir Charles's flag floated on the *Duke of Wellington*; Admiral Chads's on the *Edinburgh*; and Admiral Plumridge's on the *Leopard*.

The *Duke of Wellington* was originally laid down at Pembroke as a man-of-war of 120 guns, but she underwent three changes—she was cut in two at the middle, and lengthened by 23 feet, for the reception of 11 additional guns; she had a screw-propeller fitted as an auxiliary to the power of the sails; and her launching, occurring as it did about the time of the death of the great warrior, led to the change of name from the *Windsor Castle* to the *Duke of Wellington*. Thus was produced the majestic three-decker of 131 guns—having an extreme length of 278 feet, extreme breadth of 60 feet, and the total weight, when fully equipped for sea, of 5600 tons. Such a leviathan had never be-

form ploughed the seas, for it possessed large steam-power in addition to the usual fittings for a sailing man-of-war of the first-class. The problem was yet to be solved, how far a vessel necessarily drawing so great a depth of water would be fitted for active service in a closed, shallow, intricate sea like the Baltic.

Exciting was the day when Queen Victoria witnessed the departure of the fleet to the Russian waters. On the 11th of March, 1854, the shores of Hampshire and of the Isle of Wight were crowded with thousands of eager spectators, who then for the first time witnessed the departure of a large fleet destined to a possible career of war and destruction. The various ships being assembled at Spithead, the Queen came from Osborne in the *Fairy* yacht, steamed up to the gigantic flag-ship, received all the principal officers on board the yacht, and bade them farewell and God-speed. Early in the afternoon the signal was given, and the ships weighed, and sailed or steamed forth. The *Royal George* led the way; then followed the *St Jean d'Acre* and the *Tribune*; to these succeeded the *Imperieuse*, *Blenheim*, *Amphion*, *Princess Royal*, and the other ships in succession. Her Majesty literally headed the fleet; the little *Fairy* darted on in advance of all, insomuch that, when returning westward, the Queen passed the stately ships in succession. Nearly all the seamen were enabled to catch a glimpse of their sovereign, as she stood upon the deck of her yacht; and the recognition was not likely to be forgotten either by seamen or sovereign. No such sight had been witnessed, perhaps, on English shores since Queen Elizabeth's parting visit to her defenders at Tilbury, 266 years earlier, on occasion of the Spanish Armada.

The fleet—or more correctly one division of the fleet under Sir Charles Napier—passed the Downs at midday on the 12th. It pursued its majestic course up the German Ocean, through the Skäger Rack, thence

to Helsingör, at the mouth of the Sound, and onward to Copenhagen, where Sir Charles landed on the 20th to pay his respects to the King of Denmark. The paddle-steamer *Hecla* had previously been sent out, on the the 19th of February, to make a preparatory survey of the Baltic, carrying several masters and pilots; she was absent about five weeks, during which time a run of 2000 miles had been made.

No sooner had the naval authorities at Portsmouth despatched the first division of the fleet under Sir Charles Napier, than arrangements were made to send off the second division under Rear-Admiral Corry—an officer who had seen nearly half a century of active service, although his name was not associated in a marked degree with any special achievements. On the 16th of March, the Queen visited Corry's squadron at Spithead, as she had before visited that of Napier. The ships ready at that time were few in number, not exceeding six or seven; they sailed in the following week—to be succeeded by other vessels as rapidly as the equipment and manning could be completed.

On the 28th of March, at Kiel, in the Holstein, news reached the fleet of the declaration of War. Despatches reached Sir Charles Napier by mail-route from London; and, in consequence of the information thus received, the following characteristic address was issued to the fleet by its indomitable commander:—"Lads—War is declared. We are to meet a bold and numerous enemy. Should they offer us battle, you know how to dispose of them. Should they remain in port, we must try to get at them. Success depends upon the quickness and precision of your fire. Lads, sharpen your cutlasses, and the day is your own."

Having thus traced the British fleet to the Baltic, it becomes necessary to notice the maritime contingent furnished by our French ally for the same service.

France, as a military nation, has paid far more attention to campaigns on land than to encounters at sea. Her shipwrights and engineers, however, have not fail-

ed to watch and to profit by the improvements introduced in England; and during the long peace, a fleet of considerable power was gradually formed. At the beginning of 1854, the naval forces of France comprised 290 sailing-ships and 117 steamers; presenting an aggregate of about 18,000 guns, and 30,000 horse-power for the steamers. Of this force, about 30 vessels were set apart to share in the Baltic expedition; comprising 9 ships-of-the-line, 12 frigates, 6 brigs and corvettes, and the remainder smaller vessels. This fleet was placed under the command of Admiral Parseval-Deschênes, who left Paris for Brest on the 20th of March, and the ships began to leave Brest for the Baltic on the same day.

The Russian naval forces at the beginning of 1854, appear, from the figures furnished by Haxthausen and other writers, to have comprised about 60 ships-of-the-line, ranging from 70 to 120 guns; 36 frigates, of 40 to 60 guns; 70 corvettes, brigs, and brigantines; and 40 steamers—the whole carrying about 9000 guns, and requiring a force of 40,000 seamen. Somewhat later in the year, it was known that at Helsingfors (Sveaborg) and Cronstadt, the Russians had not less than 30 ships of 74 guns or upwards each; with an aggregate armament of 2468 guns; besides 3 steamers of 400 horse-power each, 2 of 120 horse-power, and 1 steamer-corvette of 450 horse-power—the six steamers carrying collectively 56 guns. The numbers could not have deviated much from this in April, at the time when the English and French fleets entered the Baltic.

Although the Allied fleets entered the Baltic early in April, the sea was not yet fitted for navigation by large ships, owing to the length of time during which the ice of winter clings to the ports and inlets. Cronstadt, the island-fortress which guards St. Petersburg and the Neve, was naturally the point to which the attention of the two admirals was mainly directed; and this island, together with the mouth of the Neva,

were known to be encumbered with ice at the time. In no case did the opening of the Neva occur till April; most of the openings were in the third or fourth week of that month; while some were retarded until May. The closing begins generally some time in November. The ice lingers about Cronstadt nearly a week later than at the mouth of the Neva, insomuch that the month of May is in most years fairly advanced before the vicinity of that fortress can be safely approached by large ships. This icy fringe-work is present during about 150 days in each year.

Slowly and cautiously did the Allied admirals advance, watchful of shoals on one part, and of ice in another. Of the enemy, there was rather a fear that he would not be met with; the seamen were eager for an encounter; but it began already to be suspected that the Russian ships would shelter behind stone-fortresses. To many, even among the educated officers, the expedition partook of the nature of a voyage of discovery, or at least of exploration in a little-known region. "The Baltic had entered little into our speculations as a seat of war, and was to ships of the navy almost a *mare ignotum*. Merchant-vessels had traversed it backwards and forwards, and visited all the different ports with their cargoes; but the professional knowledge of its water and shores was very small, and derived chiefly from foreign charts. The men of the last war, depending chiefly on their seamanship and enterprise, had added little to our scientific information on the subject, and, as the result of their experience, only the warnings of disaster and a few oral records. The high hopes, therefore, which followed the departure of the first Baltic fleet, must have been dashed by a fear that some of the magnificent ships might return no more." The merchants engaged in the Baltic trade do indeed know the perils of that region—taught, as they have been, by costly experience. In a series of years immediately preceding the war, the vessels which passed the Sound, either inwards or outwards

numbered no less than 15,000 annually, of which nearly one-fourth were British. Never did a year pass without many of these ships being wrecked. The Baltic navigators have found the most dangerous points, in so far as regards wrecking on the coast, to be—Sandhammer and Falsterbö, near the southern extremity of Sweden; the east coast of the island of Gothland; the Aland Islands; the Dager Ort, near the entrance to the Gulf of Finland; and a hazardous shoal between Christiana and Gothenburd. Any criticism on naval manœuvres in the Baltic would be unjust which did not take into account the perils of such a sea to bulky ships drawing so great a depth of water as those in Sir Charles Napier's fleet.

When Sir Charles Napier thus began to move eastward, in the middle of April, his armament had accumulated to nearly forty ships, of which more than half were screw-steamers. The whole had on board about 1700 guns and 18,000 men; with Corry, Plumridge, and Chads, as the three admirals under Napier. But from that time, it was seldom that all the ships were assembled at or near one spot; special expeditions being always in progress, by detached portions of the fleet.

The French fleet, commanded by Admiral Parseval-Deschênes, comprised about twenty-four vessels. The commander hoisted his flag on the *Inflexible*; while Rear-admiral Penaud, second in command, sailed in the *Duguesclin*. Unlike the English armament, this French fleet took out a small body of infantry, and another of artillery, ready for prospective land-service. These ships joined Sir Charles Napier's fleet at different times and different places.

The huge vessels passed from Kioge Bay to the island of Gothland, and remained there some time. Early in May, Sir Charles Napier moved the fleet to Hango Head, despatching single ships to the north and east of it. A spirited affair occured on the 19th, under the management of Captain Yalverton of the

Arrogant, and Captain Hall (who had won distinction a few years earlier in the Chinese War) in the *Hecla*—both steamers. The two vessels steamed up a small firth which bounds the Hangö peninsula on the east, and which is marked at the entrance by the town of Ekness or Eknas. Yalverton and Hall determined to capture one, at least, of three large laden Russian merchant-vessels which were lying at anchor in Ekness Bay; but the whole coast was bristling with defences—a sandbank-battery in one place, a stone-battery in another, a masked-battery behind a wood near the shore, infantry armed with Minié-rifles in one place, and a troop of horse-artillery in another. Shot and shell and Minié-balls flew about in all directions: the *Hecla* had several shots through her funnel, steam-pipe, and hull, and both vessels were studded with Minié-balls. Nevertheless, in the midst of a torrent of shot, Captain Hall ran into the harbour at Ekness, captured a bark, and towed her away, much to the astonishment of the inhabitants. The little *Hecla*, a 6-gun steamer, bore most of the rough usage; the *Arrogant*, 48 guns, was too heavy to approach the shoal water as closely as Captain Yalverton would have wished. It was, indeed, an extraordinary fight thus maintained by the *Hecla*; for the Russian infantry, cavalry, and artillery moved along the coast parallel with the steamer's course, dodging its movements, and firing incessantly. This was the first among many examples furnished in the Baltic, that vessels of light draught are better fitted to render useful service in that sea than first-class men-of-war.

Another subsidiary expedition was intrusted to Captain Cooper Key, with the *Amphion* (34) and the *Conflict* (8,) both screw-steamers. The destination was the coast of Courland, not far from the Prussian frontier. Arriving off the port of Libau, Captain Key learned that several Russian merchant-vessels lay in the port, and that the place was defended by 600 or 700 soldiers. He resolved to capture the vessels, some or all. Hav-

ing steamed within gunshot of the town on the 17th of May, the governor was summoned by Captain Key to surrender; a refusal led to the manning of all the boats belonging to both ships—those of the *Amphion* being commanded by Captain Key, and those of the *Conflict* by Captain Cumming. The boats had to pull a mile and a half up a small creek or river to reach Libau; and the river was only fifty yards broad. The captains deemed it fortunate that the Russian soldiers did not appear on the banks, else might the fate of the boat-expedition have been doubtful. The invaders were 180 men in all only, against a population of 10,000, aided by 600 soldiers. Nevertheless, so judiciously did Captain Cumming manage a conference with the magistrates, that all the ships were given up, without a shot being fired on either side; and the *Amphion* and *Conflict*, before nightfall, steamed forth with eight new Russian merchant-vessels in tow.

An achievement of a somewhat similar nature was performed by Captain Wilcox, in the *Dragon*, a paddle steamer of 6 guns. While cruising in the Gulf of Finland, he reconnoitered the port of Revel, situated on the coast of Esthonia, nearly opposite Sveaborg. Seeing two vessels at anchor there, he made a dash at them. Regardless of the shot poured towards his little steamer from the batteries, he ran in close ashore, captured both the ships, and towed them into Hango Bay on the following morning.

The destructive expedition of Admiral Plumridge was closed by an encounter in which defeat, instead of success, attended him. On the shore of Finland, a little south of Brahestad, are two small towns named Gamle (Old) and Ny (New) Karleby. The *Odin* and the *Vulture* arrived off Gamle Karleby on the 7th of June; and sent out several boats at eleven o'clock in the evening—at which hour there is still a little daylight in the summer of high latitudes. A summons to surrender any stores contraband of war, made two hours earlier, seems to have been refused. The boats

approached the shore, and attempted a landing. Two pieces of artillery, and two companies of infantry, resisted the attempt; and a brisk interchange of bullet and ball ensued for nearly an hour. The boats were ultimately obliged to retire, carrying away a few dead and wounded, and leaving a few prisoners in the hands of the Russians. The water is so shallow at that part, that the steam-frigates could not safely come within four or five miles of the shore; and this circumstance prevented them from assisting the boats. Whether the insignificance of the place (comprising less than 2000 inhabitants) rendered the admiral indifferent to a second attack, certain it is that the result of the hour's fighting greatly elated the Russians, and gave occasion for high coloured accounts in the *Journal de St. Petersburg* and the *Invalide Russe*, in which the Russian loss was set down at "four men slightly wounded."

Shortly after these transactions in the Gulf of Bothnia, the French fleet arrived, and joined the English. Admiral Parseval-Deschênes made his appearance off Hangö, on the 13th of June; on the following day, Sir Charles Napier, accompanied by Admirals Corry and Chads, made a visit of ceremony to the French admiral: and on the 15th, Parseval-Deschênes made a similar complimentary visit to his brother officers on board the *Duke of Wellington*. It was a novel and exciting scene; for never before had English and French fleets met in amity on the Baltic; and the crews, when once they had learned to rub off early prejudices, cheered each other right heartily. The blockade of all the Russian ports in the three Gulfs of Livonia, Finland, and Bothnia, had been formerly effected by Sir Charles Napier before the French arrived, and was officially notified in the *London Gazette* on the 16th of June.

Sir Charles Napier had delayed his advance up the Gulf of Finland, partly to await the arrival of his French allies, and partly by reason of numerous difficulties which had to be encountered.

Instead of, or in preference to, any attack on Sveaborg, the Allied admirals advanced up the Gulf of Finland to Cronstadt, the island which constitutes virtually the fortresses in defence of St. Petersburg. This advance was made during the last week in June. When within ten miles of the island, three small paddle-frigates, the *Lightning*, *Bull-dog*, and *Magicienne*, were sent on ahead to sound and reconnoitre more closely, and especially to search for any "infernal machines" or submarine explosives, the existence of which in these parts was apprehended. Three larger vessels, the *Imperieuse*, *Arrogant*, and *Desperate*, followed them at a short distance to afford protection. No "infernal machines" were found; but the reconnoitring vessels approached Cronstadt sufficiently near to render manifest a formidable array of granite batteries, and a large fleet sheltered within the harbour. The admirals had heard of certain destructive machines, which had been made at a government establishment near Moscow early in the year—copper vessels, capable of holding 700 pounds of powder, to be exploded either by percussion or by galvanic current; the knowledge obtained was vague, but sufficient to induce a cautious examination of all the approaches to Cronstadt, lest any such submarine apparatus should endanger the hulls of the ships. So far as could be discerned, the Russian fleet within the harbour nearly equalled in number—about thirty—the Anglo-French ships on the outside; but made no attempt to emerge from their hiding-place behind stone walls. Some of the English officers landed at the small island of Tolbuken, or Toll Beacon, westward of Cronstadt, ascended to the summit of a light-house, and there inspected, in the distance, such a tremendous range of granite batteries as astonished all. A general impression was made, that the place could not be taken by a naval attack; and thereupon, after a careful examination of the vicinity, the fleets returned early in July from Cronstadt to Baro Sound.

The whole subject of the fortifications of the Baltic

was at the commencement of the war a matter of great interest. But the eyes of the civilised world were fixed on Cronstadt. We shall, therefore, give a rather lengthy description of this stronghold of Russian power.

A vessel that shall be sailing up the Gulf of Finland will have to the north the Finnish coast, to the south the Ingrian and Esthonian coasts. These gradually recede until they leave a space of nearly a hundred miles; but after you pass Narva Bay the shores again near each other, and, narrowing by degrees, are at last only eight miles apart. And at the east-end of this channel is St. Petersburg and the Neva estuary. This is the vulnerable part of Russia, as a capital must always be a matter of vital importance to the existence of a nation. To render this point invulnerable, and to secure the chief city of the vast Muscovite empire, Peter the Great, that renowned rival of Sweden, erected the fortress of Cronslott, thus laying the foundation of that system of military defences which we are now viewing from afar with so much interest. A writer, who appears to have studied the matter from a military point of view says:—"The strength or the impregnability, as the case may be, of the positions of this bulwark of St. Petersburg will be easily understood by attention to the following considerations. The Island of Kotline is an irregularly shaped acute triangle, seven miles long, planted in the Gulf of Finland in an oblique direction, with its base towards St. Petersburg, and its apex seawards. The broad and eastern end is covered by the town of Cronstadt, the sharp, or north-western, point being marked by the lighthouse of Tollboken."

It would appear on the surface that any man-of-war which should wish to make the mouth of the Neva had but to round the Tollboken, and bear up, by sailing round Cronstadt, to the north, and thus heading up between the island and the shore of Finland; or it might steer to the south, with Cronstadt on one hand and the Ingrian shore on the other.

But Russia, which has for years been preparing for a gigantic contest with the whole world, has taken care that it shall not be so easy to do these things as it may appear on paper. The northern channel has been blocked up and destroyed by means of long rows of piles, miles in length, round about which stone and other barricades have been cast, so that the whole channel between Cronstadt and Lisi Noss has become useless, to an advancing force, unless it used gun-boats of a very peculiar construction. That something of the kind might be brought to bear, is evident from the fact that the smaller craft of the place still use this channel, which is made useless to large ships under quite novel circumstances.

The long delays and hesitations which have taken place with regard to Constradt, will be appreciated by all who know anything about the locality, except that knot of persons in all countries who are so fond of excitement as to want nothing less than a bombardment every morning with their breakfast. But war is bad enough in every sense, without aggravating its evils by recklessness and foolhardiness—qualities which, under the name of desperate courage, have led men to do such useless deeds of valour. A calm examination of the fortified place we now speak of, will open the eyes of many persons to facts that they were not previously aware of.

The north channel is impassable to ships. It is a fact which may be seen by sea-charts of these waters, that the centre channel, which averages from five to seven feet, is in the shape of a triangle, of which the base stretches from Forts Alexander and Risbank, while the point is the narrow mouth of the same channel between Cronstadt and the shoal which is called the Oranienbaum Spit. This at once gives an idea of the nature of the obstructions which are to be found at once in the south channel.

To the left of an invading force would be Fort Alexander. This is a most formidable construction, evi-

dently intended to cope with a very huge invading force. A military writer says: "This fort is, in its ground plan, of a somewhat elliptical shape, and consists of a front, with four tiers of embrasures, and two flanks of three tiers, and a rear wall mounted with guns *en barbette*. It is built on rocks of granite, on a foundation of piles driven in eighteen feet of water." The whole casemates of this very serious fortification would pour a fire of 116 eight-inch and ten-inch guns on an enemy; so that the loss of human life would necessarily be very great, while it would take a considerable time to silence them.

The fort of Risbank, in about the same range, is quite new, and was finished, it is quite clear, with a view to the late war. In 1852 it was in a very unfinished state, but has been hurried on to be prepared for all contingencies. It rests upon similar foundations in sixteen feet of water, but it differs from its twin fort in being oblong. When it was last heard of, it had two tiers of guns, one on a level with the water, and another some distance above. The number of guns is believed to be about half those of the other fort. They are very heavy guns.

The next difficulty a fleet would have to encounter, supposing these first obstacles overcome, would be the guns of the bastion of Fort Peter. This, one who speaks from intimate knowledge assures us, has three towers or bastions with two curtains to unite the This fort, which sweeps in various directions, has twenty-eight guns in its bastions in casemates, and twenty-eight above. The curtains have twenty guns mounted on the summit.

The next defence is of a less imposing character, quite different from what we should expect a fortification erected by Peter the Great would be. It presents to the sea nothing but a long line of timber casemates, with altogether forty guns, in two batteries, on a level with the water. It is nothing but a mole supported on piles, built in the form of an irregular pen-

tagon. This is Cronslott, which has been also hurriedly armed since the demonstration of Menschikoff at Constantinople.

This, however, forms a very important part of the defences of the anchorage, though less important than some interior fortifications. One of these is the mole which flanks the harbour for merchant-vessels, on the side towards the sea. This is about a thousand yards long, and joins the land fortifications. There are three basins in the harbour, one of which is set apart for the merchant service. This dock is not an excavation, but an inclosure made by driving piles in and inclosing the space necessary. The piles are of great strength, as they are made to support a heavy mass of timber and granite, sometimes timber alone, sometimes granite alone. This makes a kind of flat rampart covered by guns, some of them are of very heavy calibre, with plates of sheet-iron under them, where they rest on wood. The men who would work these guns would have no protection, so that ships' batteries would rake them in a very short time, and silence them effectually, if once the great Fort Menschikoff could be silenced.

But here is the great difficulty; and on this point one acquainted with fortifications has written a very remarkable paragraph:—"We will assume, for argument's sake, that some fortunate accident has removed the whole of this elaborate machinery for boring holes and exploding mines in the scantlings of enemies' ships, and that a screw-liner has advanced up to the beginning of the narrow channel between Cronslott and the mole-head. For more than one ship at a time to attempt, amidst the smoke and confusion of battle, to run through an opening only 250 yards wide, where there is always risk of going aground, would be almost an impossibility. And when the successful Austerlitz or Ajax arrives, and that alone, at the end of 'the great road,' she is at once raked by a fort bearing the ominous name of Prince Menschikoff.

"Fort Menschikoff, built of cubes of granite on a bastion projecting from the mole of the merchant harbour, mounts forty-four ten-inch and eight-inch guns in four tiers of casemates. The flank turned towards Cronstadt is pierced with loop-holes for musketry, five on each of the three lower tiers. The back is not susceptible of defence against a *coup de main*; but this is of little consequence, as the necessary *coup* is not very likely to reach it before the fall of Cronstadt itself. The ventilation is secured by six arched longitudinal openings, the draught from which would, when the wind blew from the eastward, carry the smoke out of the casemates. That the broadside of a line-of-battle ship, directed against Fort Menschikoff, would produce a very sensible effect upon its flat front, is not to be denied. What we doubt, is, whether our screw will ever be able to bring her broadside so to bear; as, before taking up the position necessary to effect this, she must first come end on against Menschikoff, and then present the steadiest of targets to the Russian gunners. Making every allowance for the relative inferiority of the enemy's aim, we do not think that such a mark could be well missed; and some of the shells plunging down from the upper tiers of the battery through the ship's decks, would not improbably find their way into the engine-room or the powder-magazine. Meanwhile the steamer could only reply from her bridle ports and sixty-eight-pounder pivot guns, so that the damage inflicted by her before coming into position would be quite insignificant. And if the Russians were to adopt the very obvious measure of mooring three or four line-of-battle ships on a line parallel to the face of Fort Menschikoff, they would be able to rake the entrance to the Little Road with an additional fire of 150 guns. A few old vessels sunk near the mole would, however, settle the question still more effectually; and as there is no actual night in a Cronstadt summer, there could be but little chance of the attacking party being able to remove such obsta-

tles. Under these circumstances again, the Russian fleet, if withdrawn into the furthest basin, would be tolerably safe from the dangers of that uncertain operation—a bombardment."

But all the fortifications are not yet mentioned. There are two sides to Cronstadt. There are the batteries against an attack from without, and those apparently directed against an attack from within. It would seem as if the cunning of the government of Russia had been directed to provide against insurrectionary movements in St. Petersburg.

Mention has already been made of the mole which runs along the basins, both those provided for the merchantmen and those for the men-of-war. This part of the fortifications trends away in a new direction opposite Cronslott, and runs along the northern side of the island for about a mile. It is this part of the mole which separates the Mercantile and Central Harbour from the Little Road. On the front of the bastions of this same fortified rampart is Fort Menschikoff, of which we have already spoken; and at the end of the Central Harbour is the Military Harbour, which is rectangular in shape, about nine hundred yards in length, by three hundred and fifty broad. At the extremity of this are two bastions, and two on each flank. The bastions on the side of the Little Road "are truncated," and they have an opening for the passage in and out of ships. Except under and around Fort Menschikoff, the mole is of timber; but in other places it is of heavy masses of granite. Up to the time when English visitors could see it, this mole was defended only by a few guns, but it is probable that the warlike preparations made elsewhere have also been carried out here. It has been suggested that a line of hulks has probably been brought to bear so as to clear the mole.

Line-of-battle ships are not able to advance beyond the end of the last basin; only steam frigates after that point being able to find enough water. Behind

this, and under the embankment which runs along the southern and eastern part of the island, none but small boats and little sailing craft can approach. The bank is connected with a brick wall, about a hundred yards long, which has a gateway in it leading to a wooden pier, which is used by the steam ferry-boats which ply between the island and the main land. Access to this gateway is afforded by a draw-bridge, and near the gate is a well-fortified guard-house. This military fort is further guarded by a battery of sixteen guns, which are pointed towards the capital of the empire. Then comes a dead wall, a barracks, and the huge hospital of the city; and then a platform battery. Beyond all this is another line of works, double, with a rampart rising up from the water's edge. Then they traverse the whole breadth of the island with a parapet three thousand yards long. There are other batteries commanding the shallow water, which are however of little importance.

About the middle of June, while the main portion of the English fleets was yet in Baro Sound, an attack on Bomarsund was planned by Captains Hall, Scott, and Buckle, in the *Hecla*, *Odin*, and *Valorous*. On the 21st, the three steamers took up a position in front of the town, about 2000 yards distant, and opened fire. The fortress was heavily mounted, and was defended also by two companies of riflemen. A brisk cannonade was kept up for several hours. The English account of the transaction was—that two strand-batteries were soon silenced; that scarcely any of the Russian shot reached the ships; that all the houses, vessels, and ships' stores were burnt or otherwise destroyed; that the ships left when, during the night, the fortress was in flames in several places; that the loss of the enemy must have been severe; and that the Allies had none killed and only five wounded. According to the Russian version, however, a red-hot ball from the fort set fire to one of the ships; the English did no serious damage to the fortress; they were obliged to

give up the contest and retire for the night; the English loss must have been considerable; while the Russians had only two killed and fifteen wounded. Such contradictory accounts would be embarrassing, were it not that the *Journal de St. Petersburg*, during the war, presented so many instances of untruthfulness and glaring exaggeration. A gallant act was performed by Midshipman Lucas on this occasion; one of the bombs fired by the Russians having fallen on the deck of the *Hecla*, Lucas boldly picked it up, and threw it into the sea before the fuse had ignited the explosive compound within: it was a question of life or death for him in either case, whether he touched the dread missile or not.

On the 18th of July, the fleets weighed anchor, left Baro Sound, and steered for Aland—leaving some of the ships behind, however, to watch the movements of the Russians at Sveaborg and Cronstadt. They reached Lod Sound, south of the Aland Islands, on the 21st. On the 22d, the *Edinburgh*, *Blenheim*, *Hogue*, *Ajax*, *Amphion*, and *Alban*, arrived off the forts of Bomarsund, passing beautiful scenery by the way, but requiring delicate handling to prevent them from going on shore. As it was fully expected that Russian troops were hidden behind the woods on shore, preparation were made to guard the ships from a sudden attack; shot and shell were brought up ready on deck, the men were placed at the guns, 10-inch guns were loaded with canister-shot, and a screen of hammocks was fitted up; for the ships sailed and steamed so close to land, on some occasions, that "a biscuit might have been thrown ashore." The precaution was not unnecessary, for shot and shell speedily began to pour forth from Bomarsund, which would have wrought great injury if better aimed. The admiral, in accordance with instructions from home, suspended active operations until military reinforcements should arrive; he therefore ordered the ships to retire beyond reach of the guns at Bomarsund, but continued a very care-

ful survey of the intricate channels between the islands. Two or three of the ships went on shore in the narrow passages, and were with difficulty liberated. The officers, by the aid of their glasses, could observe that the great fort or battery at Bomarsund had a double range of casemates; it was built in a curve, commanding the whole sweep of the harbour. and had a bomb-proof roofing, covered by a layer of sand four feet in depth. Besides this, there were two round towers or forts, built on elevated spots of ground. A temporary strand-battery was also visible on the beach.

On the 30th of July, from the mast-head of the *Duke of Wellington*, Sir Charles Napier's flag-ship, at Led Sound, the ships which brought the first division of the French troops were descried. General Baraguay d'Hilliers came in the *Reine Hortense;* while the *Algiers*, 91, *Royal William*, 120, *St. Vincent*, 104, and other large ships, brought the troops. Courtesies and congratulations speedily followed; visits of ceremony were paid; admirals and generals, English and French, vied with each other in friendly demonstrations; and all felt that now, at least, somewhat ought to be achieved to give *eclat* to a campaign which had hitherto been deficient in stirring incidents.

The commanders, military and naval, immediately commenced arrangements for an attack on Bomarsund; they steamed up to the vicinity of the fort, to make such reconnaissances as might determine the nature of the plan to be adopted. Three Russians, escaped from Bomarsund, gave information that the fortress contained two round towers and a long battery, 1000 troops of the line, 350 irregulars, 100 armed convicts, and 550 artillerymen; while on various parts of the islands were 500 riflemen, 700 irregulars, 80 Cossacks, and 4 field-pieces. The statements of deserters, however, are to be received with caution; and the Allies simply made use of this information as one among several means of arriving at the truth. Some of the ships were so placed as to form a cordon round

the islands, to remain at signal-distance to watch the movements of the troops on shore, and to cut off all supplies of provisions and ammunition; while others entered the straits or fiords leading up to Bomarsund.

The Russian Commandant at Bomarsund, in accordance with the spirit which had dictated the burning of Moscow in a former war, fired most of the villages around, and changed the neighbourhood to a scene of misery and desolation.

By nine o'clock on the morning of the 8th of August, the disembarkation had been effected, and the troops began their preparations for a march to the forts. Sir Charles Napier, in the mean time, was busily moving from place to place, from ship to ship, reconnoitring the shore, and signaling orders to the various ships of the fleet, of which nearly fifty were in the immediate vicinity, four-fifths of the number being steamers. The small steamers were employed in carrying ammunition and provisions on shore; while the larger vessels were preparing to bring their broadsides to bear upon any assailable points.

The 10th, 11th, and 12th, of August were busily occupied by the Allies in making preparations for the commencement of the bombardment; both the sailors and soldiers being fully employed in this necessary duty.

The following was the position and arrangement of the forts. Close to the shore was a range of fortifications, with two tiers of guns, forty being mounted in each tier. On a hill above, about a mile and a half from the shore, was a round tower, also with two tiers of guns; on another and higher hill, to the west of this, was a second round tower, and a third occupied the summit of a hill on the extreme east. These three towers were perfectly similar, and from twenty to thirty guns of large calibre were mounted on each.

Shortly after daybreak, on the morning of the 13th, the French, having been actively employed since the

8th in bringing up and planting their siege-train, and having finished their battery No. 1, opened fire on Fort Tzee, and continued with very little interruption throughout the day. The effect was tremendous, although the guns and mortars were few in number; the shells burst in the embrasures and on the roof; and the face of the stone-work was shattered to fragments. Towards evening, the Russians exhibited, not for the first or the last time during the war, a disregard of the honourable principle which usually regulates an agreement under a flag of truce. A flag was hoisted; General Baraguay d'Hilliers went up with a small escort; a request was made that the Russians might have an opportunity to bury their dead; and he so far assented as to yield one hour. It is understood, in such matters, that the time shall be really appropriated in the manner specified; but the Russians, on the contrary, sent down to the great fort, and brought up a new store of ammunition wherewith to continue the struggle. This breach of honour greatly exasperated the French commander; insomuch that he refused a second flag of truce, when signaled at a later stage of the proceedings. The contest became very severe as night approached; for, on the one hand, the French chasseurs, clambering upon the rocks, poured a destructive fire of bullets into the embrasures of the fort, striking down the Russian gunners where they stood; while, on the other hand, Fort Nottich rendered aid to Fort Tzee, by sending shells completely over it into the French camp.

The first conquest of any of the forts was effected on the 14th. The vigorous firing by the mortars and the chasseurs told so severely on Fort Tzee, that it surrendered during the forenoon, and about fifty men became prisoners. The nimble chasseurs appear to have taken the place by surprise. General Jones's battery was not at that time finished, and could render no aid in capturing the first fort; but as the great fort and Fort Nottich maintained a vigorous fire, it speedily became necessary to attack them.

During many hours on the 14th, the French, secure in the possession of Fort Tzee, were busily engaged in erecting on an adjacent elevated spot a battery for breaching the great fort. The state of Fort Tzee itself had encouraged the Allies to persevere in a similar attack on the other forts; for, during a bombardment of twenty-four hours, the granite face of the tower was jagged and splintered in all directions, and the sides and edges of the embrasures were thickly marked by the bullets which the deadly aim of the chasseurs had poured into them. The English battery was by this time finished, and presented a formidable appearance, with its array of sand-bags nine or ten feet in height. Although Fort Tzee was only 300 yards distant, and Fort Nottich 750, yet, as the former had just been taken by the French, the English turned their guns against the more distant fort, and in eight hours succeeded in breaching the side opposite to them. The battery was manned by seamen and marine-artillery from the *Hogue*, *Edinburgh*, *Ajax*, and *Blenheim*, under the direction of Captain Ramsay, of the first-named vessel. Sir Charles Napier, in his despatch relating to the capture, summed it up in these brief words: "Their fire was beautiful! At six P. M., one side was knocked in, and the tower surrendered." It appears that by three o'clock the interior of the tower or fort had been laid open, and its guns silenced. At six o'clock, a white flag having been hoisted, Brigade-major Ord was sent to take possession; he did so; but finding that it would not be possible for him to maintain his communications with the English advanced-posts after daylight, in consequence of the proximity of the great fort, he left the place, bringing away with him 8 officers and 115 soldiers. In the fort he found sixteen 18-pounders, and two 32-pounders. The two forts, the second of which was thus taken, so much resembled towers, that they were described indifferently by either name. Meanwhile the ships were preparing to take part in the attack on the great fort, which, from its proximity to the

shore, was more within their reach. The *Asmodee*, *Phlegethon*, *Darien*, *Arrogant*, *Amphion*, *Valorous*, *Driver*, *Bull-dog*, *Hecla*, *Trident*, *Duperre*, *Edinburgh*, and *Ajax*, kept up a well-directed fire of shells, which worked much mischief on the stern granite fortification. Captain Pelham, of the *Blenheim*, landed a large 10-inch gun, and planted it on the earthen battery which the Russians had been forced to abandon a few days before; and there he bore with wonderful coolness an attack of a formidable character. The crew raised a high defence, and kept up a steady fire with their one gun against the south-west end of the large fort, while the enemy, with a double range of heavily shotted and shelled guns, returned the fire with far greater force; shells burst over and around the solitary gun, but the blue-jackets took matters very cheerfully, throwing themselves on the ground until the shells had burst. Captain Pelham maintained his position, despite the formidable antagonist against which he had pitted himself. In another part of the scene of contest, Fort Tsee, warm work of a different kind was in progress during the day. After this fort had been taken by the French, and before Fort Nottich had yielded to the English, the commandant of this latter fort, knowing the danger to be apprehended from the presence of the French in the other, maintained a fierce fire against it; and at length a shell, falling apparently on a magazine, blew up the greater part of the fort with a tremendous explosion.

At length came the day, the 16th of August, when the final conquest of Bomarsund was to be achieved by the capture of the formidable strand-fort. While dawn had yet hardly broken, a force was despatched to Fort Nottich, to take the prisoners who had surrendered to Captain Ramsay at six o'clock on the preceding evening. The marines and seamen, when they entered the place, found three officers and about 100 men; and these prisoners were marched down three miles to the beach there to be placed on board one of

the ships: the commandant was a colonel in the Russian army. As day advanced, the land-batteries and the ships' guns kept up a deafening roar, maintaining an incessant cannonade against the great fort. The arrangements, however, called for much caution; the narrowness of the slip of ground on which the French had established their breaching-battery, circumscribed the operations, else might the ships have fired upon the French troops in the endeavour to hit the great fort; while the limited space in the anchorage before Bomarsund, and the intricacy of the navigation, prevented the ships from making so near an approach as could be wished. The fort, replying to the ships and to the land-batteries with some of its guns, had still a few to point to the audacious *one gun* which Captain Pelham had maintained in position during the preceding day; his situation becoming perilous, the ships were ordered to increase the rapidity of their fire. Seven of the ships who happened to be within range with their 10-inch guns, were ordered by Sir Charles to "give them a shot and shell every five minutes"—as if he were speaking of pills and powders for a sick man. This iron torrent, in conjunction with that which was being poured out by the French breaching-battery, was too much to be borne long: a flag of truce was held out, and the place surrendered. It was the opinion of Sir Charles Napier, expressed in his despatch, that if the fort had not surrendered on the 16th, the whole place would have been reduced to ashes on the 17th, so terrible was the power of the breaching-battery which General Niel had judiciously placed within 400 yards of the fort, and so heavy the weight of metal poured in from the ships. Admiral Plumridge, during this busy day, was rendering service north-east of the town and forts; he placed his squadron so as to prevent reinforcements from being thrown in from the Finland coast—a contingency which might else have happened; for the Allies had reason to believe that two Russian admirals had been

sent among the islands, to determine the practicability or otherwise of aiding the beleaguered forts. It had been intended that Plumridge's squadron should aid the attack by shelling the north side of Bomarsund; but finding that he could not do so without endangering the men in the French breaching-battery, he directed his attention to the Prastö fort. Admiral Plumridge, who had the *Leopard*, *Hecla*, and *Cocyte*, at his disposal, described, in characteristic language, in his despatch to Sir Charles, the tactics he adopted: everything is "beautiful" to a professional man, which exhibits efficiency in his own particular vocation. He moved his three ships "into a delightful sequestered position, screened from observation by the trees on the neck of land to the eastward of the tower; having the great Bomarsund fort and it in one [in a right line], so that our over-shot and shell should fall to the lot of Bomarsund. The simultaneous opening fire from the three broadsides was the first intimation the tower had of our movements; and I had the satisfaction of seeing at times, from aloft, the steadiness and precision with which the shot and shell were delivered from each vessel. I only regret that the trees alluded to obscured us all from your view, as I feel almost assured this bit of service would have been deemed worthy of better notice than it becomes me to give at so short a distance from your flag."

Meanwhile, Prastö was the scene of separate operations. The tower or fort, mounting 20 guns in two casemated tiers, and 6 *en barbette* on the roof, had been invested by a combined force of French and English marines, with some field-pieces, on the 15th; and on the 16th, it was attacked both by this force and by Admiral Plumridge's squadron. When it was known that the great fort had yielded, the commandant of Prastö hoisted a white flag. The Allies approached; the gates were thrown open; the garrison marched out; and the whole became prisoners of war. These prisoners, numbering three officers and about 150 men, were removed in one of the ships.

When the flag of truce was held out from the great fort, the Admiral sent Captain Hall on shore; and he, in company with an officer from Admiral Parseval-Deschênes, and two staff-officers from General Baraguay d'Hilliers, entered the fort, and received the surrender of the place. The three commanders, Napier, Parseval, and Baraguay, then went to receive the submission in form. The governor, General Bodisco, attempted a parley in the first instance; but nothing less than an unconditional surrender being admissable, he gave up his sword, and yielded himself and the garrison prisoners. Chasseurs poured down from the batteries on one side, marines and artillerymen from the other; the place was entered, the magazine secured, and the prisoners taken. The victors demanded the arms, which were brought and piled up in the square, near the furnace in which so many of the shot had been made red-hot. All the principal generals and admirals on the part of the Allies were drawn up in a brilliant group; the troops formed a line of about half a mile from the entrance of the port to the mole or landing-place; and the Russians, care-worn, dispirited, and, in some few cases, frenzied with drink, were marched down to the place of embarkation. From a statement made by Governor Bodisco, it appears that the Russians had been as much annoyed by Captain Pelham's single gun, placed on their own abandoned mud-battery, as by whole ranges of guns elsewhere—so fatal had been the shots aimed through the embrasures The loss of this great fortress was the first defeat of consequence the Russians had suffered in the Baltic, and they were deeply mortified; for it was not simply a surrender of the place, but a yielding of all the men as prisoners of war. The victors captured 112 mounted guns, 8 mortars, 7 field-pieces, and 79 unmounted guns. When all had surrendered, and had been fairly shipped for England, the prisoners amounted to the following numbers—323 shipped in the *Hannibal*, 420 in the *Algiers*, 764 in the *Royal William*, 207 in the

Termagant, and 521 in the *St. Vincent*; making a total of 2235, of whom 51 were officers, 28 women, and 13 children.

The courage displayed during the siege shows that the long peace has not deteriorated the fighting qualities of the nation's defenders; and our brave allies have well maintained the honour of *La Belle France*. At the same time, it is but just to observe that the Russians held out as long as they were able, and only surrendered when a further resistance would have greatly increased the sacrifice of human life, without at all affecting the result. The western tower was blown up on the day following its capture, by a well-directed shell from the long fort, and a French sapper was killed, and two or three others wounded.

The arrival of the Russian prisoners in England and France excited a great deal of interest in both countries, it was so long since we had to receive the men of other nations in any other way than that of friends. General Bodisco, who surrendered at Bomarsund, together with a number of Russian officers, was placed on board the *Souffleur*, and taken to France. He was accompanied by his wife and son, a child about four or five years old, together with his aides-de-camp, Captains Tosche and Vienberg. The prisoners received the utmost kindness and attention, and were conducted to the Golden Eagle Hotel. The general was about sixty years of age, although on his first entrance into Havre he appeared considerably older. Madame Bodisco was much younger, and seemed less cast down by her reverse of fortune than her noble husband.

The *Valorous* and the *Termagant* brought a vast number of prisoners to England. The ladies of the Russian officers were permitted to accompany their husbands, and even the soldiers' wives, though separated from them on the voyage, were permitted to rejoin them. The officers were stout-built powerful men, but the men had that thin lathy appearance which is seen in the inmates of our workhouses and

prisons. The prisoners brought by the *Termagant* were, for the most part, young men, and had little about them of that military air and carriage which the nations of the West inseparably associate with the profession of arms. So far from being stiff and formal in their ways, they were quite the opposite, squatting themselves on the deck with a freedom which reminded one of their eastern origin. Their long great coat, reaching to the ankle, appears a comfortable garment, wrapping closer round the body than in our service, and of right colour for warfare. Their forage caps also seem convenient, without being frightfully ugly, like that worn by our Foot Guards. The knapsack is of undressed skin, apparently capable of holding very little, and held on the back by broad cross-belts of black leather. One half of the prisoners belonged to a Russian corps, and wore red facings; the other were Finnish Chasseurs, and had blue facings. During the voyage, they held themselves entirely aloof from each other.

While the captives from Bomarsund were on their way to the land of their captors—while the English and French nations were exchanging congratulations on the important achievement—the Allied generals and admirals were called upon to decide on the line of conduct to be pursued towards the Aland Islands and their inhabitants. There was no evidence that the Western Powers had previously agreed on the course to be adopted in such a contingency; unity of plan was difficult of attainment where two governments claimed to have an equal voice in all important proceedings; and on this account, at Aland, as well as at other parts of the seat of war, the commanders were frequently at a loss to interpret faithfully the wishes of their respective governments. After the fall of Bomarsund, the Allied commanders issued the following proclamation to the Alanders:—

"We, the undersigned Commanders-in-Chief of the combined naval and land forces, hereby authorize the authori-

ties of these islands to continue in the administration of their respective duties, and we rely on their doing so with zeal and circumspection.

"In times of tumult and war, it devolves upon every well-disposed citizen to do his utmost in maintaining order and peace; the lower classes must not be led away with the belief that no law or order exists, for those will be enforced with as much rigour as heretofore.

"Since the late events, which have changed the aspect of these islands, the blockade has been raised, and the public are informed that they are at liberty to trade with Sweden on the same conditions and privileges as heretofore.

"Each and every one is cautioned against holding any communication or intercourse with the enemy or Finland; and if any one is found aiding them in any way, he will be punished most severely."

The demolition of the forts at Bomarsund was the first work to be done. The vast constructions on which Nicholas had spent so many rubles, and so many years of time, were doomed to destruction. All the fortifications of Bomarsund were to be reduced to a shapeless mass of stone and brick. It was about a fortnight after the conquest that the demolition commenced. The fort which Admiral Plumridge had attacked, Fort Prastö, and which, from its position, had had little influence on the progress of the struggle at the main stronghold, was blown into atoms by a large store of powder placed beneath it. The other three forts, nearer the town, had already suffered severely; the work of destruction was already half effected; nevertheless, they were blown up by a succession of explosions, and many a scene of terrific grandeur was presented—granite blocks flying up, timbers blazing, and unspent shells bursting. The wives of about a hundred Russian officers and men were safely conveyed by the *Alban* to the coast of Finland near Abo. The poor Alanders were benefited in some degree, in their forlorn desolation, by receiving all the stores of corn and meal which, in immense quantity, had been found in the forts; the peasants were allow-

ed to come and take it away in carts, as a reserve against possible starvation in the ensuing winter. A part of one of the forts was left standing for a time, that Admiral Chads might have an opportunity of trying the power of his guns against it; the *Edinburgh* was brought up, with its broadside about 600 yards distant, at which range the shot made a thorough breach in the walls, knocking several embrasures into one, and splintering the granite in all directions; the ship then retired a distance of 1000 yards, a change which materially affected the potency of the shot. When the work of destruction was completed, the soldiers embarked in the various troop-ships, and returned to Led Sound; guns and trophies being carried away, some by French, and some by English, and only a few ships remaining for a time at Bomarsund.

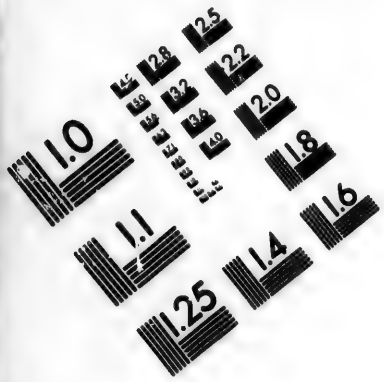
The time had now arrived for the military commanders to assist the admirals with their judgment concerning the possibility or impossibility of capturing Helsingfors and its great fortress, Sveaborg (Sweaburg). The army was too large to be profitably employed in cruising about among unimportant places: was it powerful enough to capture a second of the czar's strongholds, in size and in strength more formidable than Bomarsund? Many of the ships belonging to the fleet had passed and repassed Sveaborg frequently during the summer, partly to examine its fortifications, and frequently to tempt the Russian fleet to emerge from its granite hiding-place. Rear-admiral Martin, with a squadron of twelve or fourteen ships, was, at the time of the siege of Bomarsund, employed in a double service: his larger ships were anchored off the island of Nargen, in the Gulf of Finland, blockading the port of Revel; while his smaller steamers were cruising between Revel and Sveaborg, offering a tempting bait for the Russian ships to come out and attack them—a bait, however, which failed in its purpose, both here and in every part of the Baltic throughout the year. Later in the month Martin as-

sumed the command of a flying squadron in the Gulf of Finland. General Baraguay d'Hilliers, Brigadier-general Jones, and the two admirals-in-chief, went in a steamer to examine carefully Sveaborg and the Finnish coast. Abo, as Captain Scott had before reported, was found to be well defended, both by gun-boats and by land batteries; the ships of the Allies were amply powerful to destroy or take it, could they have approached sufficiently near; but this was one among many examples furnished during the year, in which gun-boats would have rendered more service than ponderous ships-of-the-line; the channel for deep-draught shipping into Abo was too narrow to warrant an entry by vessels-of-war drawing so many feet of water. As the reconnoitring steamer rounded Hangö Head, on the way from Abo to Sveaborg, the Allied commanders found that the Russians had destroyed the fortifications which defended that headland, fearful lest the enemy might capture and retain them. Fort Meyerfeld had first been blown up; next, Fort Gustaf Adolf; and, lastly, the main defence, Fort Gustafsvarn: the entire garrison, and many country-people, having been employed in this work of demolition. The Allied commanders then advanced to Sveaborg, the inspection of which was long and earnest; for they knew that they would be called upon to justify their proceedings, whether those proceedings involved or not an attack on the island-fortress.

This famous stronghold—rendered famous by the knowledge acquired in 1854, for it was little known to the Western nations before that year—is in effect a group of islands. To understand its arrangement, the distinction between Helsingförs and Sveaborg must be clearly apprehended. Helsingförs, the capital of the Russian government at Finland (Abo was the capital when Finland belonged to Sweden), is situated at the mouth of the river Vanna or Wanna, on the north coast of the Gulf of Finland, at about one-third of the distance from Hangö Head to Cronstadt.

The town was built by Gustavus I. of Sweden; it was burned during the war with Russia in 1713, but rebuilt. When Finland was ceded to, or rather forcibly taken by, Russia in 1808, Helsingfors was selected as the site for a powerful naval station. It underwent a remodelling in 1815—masses of rock being blown up, and inequalities levelled to make room for new buildings. The defences are of a formidable nature, and have evidently engaged much attention on the part of the Russian government. There are two forts on the mainland—Braborg and Ulricaborg, defending and partly inclosing a port in which sixty line-of-battle ships might safely lie at anchor. The outer works, built on a series of islands, bear the collective name of Sveaborg; the islands are seven in number, all fortified in immense strength, and some of them connected by bridges. The forts altogether mount nearly 1000 guns; while complete accommodation is provided for a garrison of at least 12,000 men. Some of the most formidable of the works have been constructed in the solid rock; and the barracks, arsenals, and magazines are on a complete scale.

The scrutiny of Sveaborg by the Allied commanders, from such a sea-distance as could be safely maintained, resulted in a decision that the stronghold could not be advantageously attacked. Between the islands which constitute Sveaborg, only one war-ship can pass at a time; and any hostile vessel, sailing up to Helsingfors, would encounter the muzzles of 300 or 400 large pieces of ordnance, which would effectually riddle the hull, if not set the ship on fire, ere the perilous passage had been completed, unless some unforeseen and fortuitous occurrence aided the adventure. It seemed to the commanders that a powerful army, landing at a short distance, and encircling Helsingfors, could alone, by drawing off much of the defensive power in that direction, enable the fleet to succeed in an attack sea-ward: an opinion analogous to that which had before been formed concerning Cronstadt.



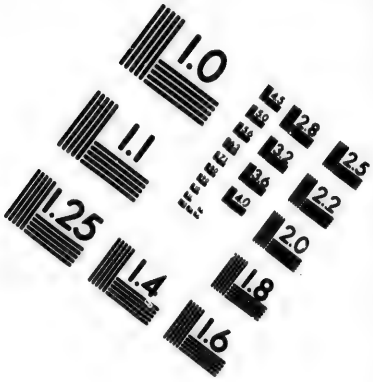
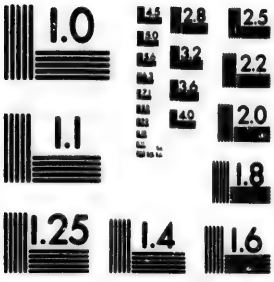
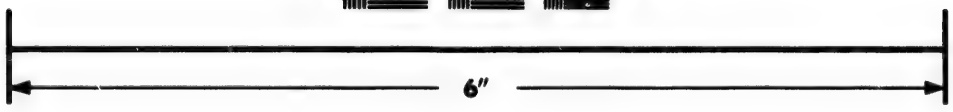


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)





Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

At a latter date, Sir Charles Napier, indignant of accusations which, somewhat hastily and ungenerously, had been brought against him concerning his want of success in the Baltic, communicated to the *Times* a plan and a letter, in which the danger of the region around the fortress, by reason both of the shoals and the batteries, was forcibly depicted.

About the middle of the month of September, Sir Charles Napier received a despatch ordering him to send the principal part of his remaining ships to Kiel, on their way to England.

In accordance with this order, the *Duke of Wellington*, *St. Jean d'Acre*, *James Watt*, *Princess Royal*, *Blenheim*, *Hogue*, *Edinburgh*, *Royal George*, *Nile*, *Cæsar*, *Majestic*, and *Cressy*, weighed anchor, and commenced their westward journey on the 10th. During several days, the weather was boisterous, insomuch that the ships were scattered, and each captain steered towards Kiel without waiting for the others; it was not until the 28th that all assembled at the rendesvous off Kiel. A squadron of steamers, including the *Imperieuse*, *Euryalus*, *Arrogant*, *Magicienne*, *Desperate*, *Basilisk*, *Bull-dog*, and *Dragon*, under Captain Watson, was left to maintain the blockade in the Gulf of Finland down to the latest date the season would permit. In respect to the Gulf of Bothnia, the blockade was formally raised during the last week in the month.

The last month of the year witnessed the final separation and departure of this great armament. In the first week of December, Captain Watson announced that the state of the ice in the Gulf of Finland was such as, in virtue of his instructions, warranted him in steaming away towards Kiel; which he accordingly did. Some of the larger ships about the same time steered towards the Sound, ready for orders to take their final departure. Those orders speedily came; and Christmas-day witnessed the presence of all, or nearly all, the ships and crews on English shores. Sir Charles Na-

pier himself landed at Portsmouth on the 18th of December, where he was received kindly and heartily by the inhabitants. On the last day of the year, the *Duke of Wellington*, *Blenheim*, *Imperieuse*, *Arrogant*, *Penelope*, and *Locust* were at Portsmouth; the *St. Jean d' Acre*, *Princess Royal*, *Nile*, *Cæsar*, and *Euryalus* at Devonport; the *Edinburgh*, *Cruiser*, *Archer*, and *Magicienne* at Leith; the *Odin* at Woolwich; the *Cressy*, *Majestic*, *Royal George*, and *Amphion* at Sheerness; the *Conflict* and *Desperate* at Hull; the *Bull-dog* at North Shields; the *Dragon*, *Rosamond*, *Basilisk*, and *Vulture* at Cromarty; and the *Driver* at Harwich.

Thus ended the operations in the Baltic in 1854—operations which had involved large military and naval arrangements; which had called into use a larger fleet than had ever before entered the Baltic; which had been commenced amid the most extravagant anticipations, by the English nation, of great results; which had entailed a vast outlay; and which had ended in much disappointment to the nation, the officers, and the men.

There was great disappointment and chagrin felt by many in England at the barren result of the Baltic expedition. In the Houses of Parliament conflicting opinions were expressed by various members on the causes which had prevented the fleet from accomplishing more important effects. At length, Sir Charles Napier and the government were at issue; and much acrimony and bitterness were engendered between the Admiral and one or two members of the government. Sir Charles, in his bluff off-hand way, did not appear to pay that deference to those in office to which they thought they were entitled.

We will now just glance at what was taking place about this time in and near the White Sea. In the first week of June, the English frigate *Eurydice*, 26 guns, the screw-corvette *Brisk* (16,) and the *Miranda* (15,) anchored off Hammerf[illegible]t, in Norway, the

most northern town in Europe, and the last of any importance met with on the sea-route from England to the White Sea; here they remained for awhile, and then proceeded eastward, on the look-out for Russian men-of-war or large merchant-ships. Late in the same month, the entrance to the harbour of Archangel was reached; and from that time an almost continuous process followed of boarding trading-vessels, to ascertain whether their ownership or their contents were such as to render them liable to capture.

Towards the close of August, the cruising brought the little squadron near the town of Kola, situated at the junction of the rivers Kola and Toulom, in Russian Lapland, a considerable distance north-west of the White Sea. Kola was the extreme north-west fortress of any importance belonging to Russia, being within a short distance of the Norwegian frontier, and is often regarded with uneasiness by Norway, as a fulcrum for the Russian love of conquest. Kola became a fortified town in the time of Peter the Great; and, being situated some distance up a river not easily navigable, it has always been regarded by the Russians as beyond the reach of probable capture. Understanding that the creeks adjacent to the Kola River were likely to conceal vessels belonging to the enemy, and knowing that Kola was so far a place of importance as to be the seat of government for Russian Lapland, and to have a military garrison, Captain Ommaney of the *Eurydice*, commander of the squadron, determined that the place should be reconnoitred, if not attacked. This duty he intrusted to Captain Lyons, in the *Miranda*; and on the 21st of August the enterprise commenced.

So great are the difficulties of the Kola River, in the thirty miles of distance from the sea to the town, that five miles of it are laid down in the charts as unnavigable; and the river is in some places so narrow that a ship can scarcely turn in it; in fact, Kola had been hitherto regarded as inaccessable to anything but boats. Captain Lyons, therefore, had abundant call for the

exercise of judgment. By sending boats ahead to sound, he succeeded on the first day in reaching to within two miles of the town. At one point, the steamer had to pass within fifty yards' distance of a precipitous cliff, which, if defended, might have seriously checked her progress; but nothing interfered with her anchoring for the night. On the 22d, the *Miranda* resumed her course upwards amid incessant difficulties—running aground repeatedly, owing to the narrowness and intricacy of the channel, and the violence of the spring-tide. At six in the evening, she anchored within 500 yards from the town, which was found to be defended by a 2-gun battery, built of stone and faced with turf, an extensive stockade, with blockhouses at the corners, and loopholes in the houses for musketry. Lieutenant Buckley was sent on shore, under a flag of truce, to demand its surrender. The night having passed without any response to the summons, and early morn on the 23d having shown that the battery was manned and the defences made ready, Captain Lyons saw that the Russians intended to resist; and he accordingly began active operations immediately. He hauled down his flag of truce, and opened fire on the battery, stockade, and loopholed houses; the battery-guns were soon dismounted, and the battery was demolished.

A few other smaller achievements of this character terminated the year's proceedings in the White Sea. No Russian ships-of-war were encountered; and as Archangel could not be reached on account of the shallowness of the water, no town of any importance suffered from the Allies, except Kola. The expedition was without political importance; yet was it justifiable in the existing ignorance of the nature and extent of Russian power in that remote region. Here, however, as at Aland, the Allies departed too soon; for at the end of October and the beginning of November, the port of Archangel was full of shipping, busily engaged in exporting and importing during the few remaining days of an unusually favourable autumn.

When war broke out, the operations of the Western Powers, besides expeditions on land, of course comprised the adoption of plans against Russian ships-of-war, in whatever part of the world they might be. In this sense, and in this sense only, was the North Pacific worthy of the attention of the English and French governments. Pétropaulovsk, Okhotsk, and Sitka, might have been left untouched, had it not been necessary to keep a watch on all ships belonging to the Russian navy. The czar was known to possess three or four men-of-war in the Pacific at that time, which might have wrought great injury to the English commerce in the Chinese and Australian seas if left unmolested; hence the necessity for active interference. Admiral Price, in command of the British squadron in the Pacific, was off Callao when he received news, early in May, of the declaration of war. The squadron sailed in a few days to the Marquesas Islands, situated nearly in the centre of the Pacific, almost due west of that part of the coast of South America marked by the port of Callao. At one of these islands, Nukahiva, the French had a settlement consisting of a small fort of three guns, storehouses for salt provisions, a few neatly built houses for the governor and officers, and barracks for about 150 soldiers belonging to the French colonial regiments; a French ship-of-war was stationed there, the captain of which acted as governor. The settlement was kept up partly as a means of retaining a place of rendezvous for French ships in that region of the Pacific, and partly as a rich storehouse of bananas, cocoa-nuts, guavas, and numerous fruits and vegetables with which to victual either war or trading ships. Near this remote settlement at the Marquesas, several English and French ships-of-war remained at anchor during the greater part of the month of June. Thence, when another ship had arrived from Rio Janeiro, the whole sailed northward or north-westward to Honolulu, one of the Sandwich Islands; the English and French nations here, as elsewhere,

taking equal part in the enterprise. Honolulu is in the direct route from the Marquesas to Kamtchatka; and being a very fertile island, it was a convenient spot at which to complete arrangements necessary for the due victualling and watering the ships.

The Allied squadron remained at Honolulu from the 17th to the 25th of July. It comprised eight ships, four English and four French. The English division, under Rear-admiral Price, consisted of the *President*, frigate, 50 guns, Captain Burridge; *Pique*, frigate, 40 guns, Captain Nicholson; *Amphitrite*, frigate, 24 guns, Captain Fredericks; and *Virago*, steamer, 6 guns, 300 horse-power, Commander Marshal. The French division, under Rear-admiral Fevrier des Pointes, consisted of *La Forte*, frigate, 60 guns, Captain de Miniac; *L'Eurydice*, frigate, 32 guns, Captain Lagrandière; *L'Artemise*, corvette, 30 guns, Captain L'Evêque; and *L'Obligado*, brig, 16 guns, Captain Rosenavat. The French guns were more numerous, but the English of heavier metal. All the ships left Honolulu on the 25th; but the *Amphitrite* and the *Artemise* were detached on the 30th, to sail east or north-east to San Francisco; while the remainder of the squadron proceeded on their northern route to the rugged seas around Kamtchatka.

On the 29th of August the Allied squadron arrived off Pétropaulovsk, after five weeks' voyage from Honolulu. The admirals speedily formed a plan of attack, which was to be made on the 30th; when suddenly the English squadron was thrown into consternation by an announcement of the suicide of Admiral Price. Just as the action was about to commence, Admiral Price went down into his cabin and shot himself: this was the beginning and the end, so far as his brother officers knew. He was a brave officer, and had seen much service.

On the 31st of August, the weather being calm, the three English Frigates, under the command now of Capt. Sir F. W. E. Nicholson, were placed in position

by the steamer, broadsides on towards the batteries outside Pétropaulovsk. The marines from the *President*, under Captain Parker, were transferred to the *Virago* steamer, and landed to take possession of the 3-gun battery, which was expected to give much annoyance. Although greatly impeded by brushwood of an almost impenetrable character, the marines, aided by English and French seamen, soon reached the battery, which they found deserted. A 5-gun battery was soon silenced; and there remained a fascine-battery of 11 heavy guns, on which the ships directed their fire, which, after some time, they succeeded in silencing.

On the 4th of September the contest was renewed by the ships, and a party of marines and seamen on land. This land-expedition had a disastrous result. The plan was that the marines and French seamen should ascend Nikolaïska Hill, which commanded the town on the north; and that the English seamen should proceed by a road to the left, with a view to storm certain batteries in the town which commanded the passage of the Gorge. Immediately on the landing of the force, the Russians, strong in position and in numbers on the hill, opened fire on them. The marines, supported by a small portion of the seamen, ascended the hill as well and as quickly as they could; but they were sadly impeded, not so much by the steepness of the hill as by the thick jungle which covered it. The Russians, however, were driven back and the Allies succeeded in outflanking some of the batteries; but their loss was most severe; for the Russians were in considerable force on the brow of the hill, while other parties kept up a harassing fire of musketry from log-houses at a short distance. When, struggling against these difficulties, the Allies reached the top of the hill, Captain Parker was killed while gallantly leading on the marines, and Lieutenants M'Callum and Clements wounded. The men, losing their commanders, began to give way; and after many rallies, they were com-

pelled to yield to the incessant fire maintained against them. They retreated to the boats; but even here further loss attended them, because the boats had to be brought within range of the enemy's musketry. Besides Captain Parker of the Royal Marines, Captain Lefebvre of the *Eurydice* was killed; and in addition to Lieutenants M'Callum and Clements, Lieutenants Howard and Palmer were wounded. It was a mortifying termination to the enterprise. Captain Burridge, in his despatch relating to the movement, said: "The difficulties of the land and the jungle were more than they could contend against, while an unseen enemy was firing upon them from all sides." The numerical strength of the garrison was greater than the Allies had been led to expect. The left attack, by the road, was frustrated by the strong defences of the Gorge, in musketry and field-pieces; while the right attack, up the hill, was checked by the dense jungle, which at once impeded the advance and covered the defenders.

Whether the advance up the hill to the jungle was justifiable, depends on the amount of information which the commanders possessed at the time; but it put an end to the contest and to the whole expedition. All the eye-witnesses, whether engaged or not, described the contest on land as terrible; and all bore evidence to the bravery with which the Russians defended their positions. One sentinel attracted especial admiration; sixty rifle-shots were aimed at him; but he never ceased for an instant to pace to and fro at his post, regardless of the balls which whistled around his head: he escaped untouched. The marines on the hill were exposed to a succession of perils; when, impeded by the thick bush of underwood and brambles, they were compelled to retreat, many of them came to the edge of a precipice seventy feet deep; deadly volleys were pouring in upon them from the rear, and they had the alternative of being shot as they stood, or of jumping

down the precipice: many took the leap and were either maimed or killed.

The 5th of September was a mournful day for the Allies. Instead of renewing the attack with a hope of victory, they buried their dead. In their official returns, they were obliged to include "killed" and "missing" in one entry; for they remained in ignorance of the real fate of many of their companions. The totals presented in the two squadrons were—Killed or missing, 4 officers and 48 men; wounded, 6 officers and 148 men: upwards of 200 in all; among whom, however, many were merely contused.

As it was felt that the force, thus reduced, had not strength sufficient to take or destroy either the town or the two Russian frigates, preparations were made to leave the place. These preparations being completed on the 6th, the two squadrons took their departure on the 7th—the English to Vancouver, and the French to San Francisco. The Russian commander congratulated his garrison, and rightly so, on the repulse of the enemy; he acknowledged a loss of 40 killed and 75 wounded; but when he put down the Allied loss at 300, "besides the killed and wounded on board the ships," he indulged in the usual Russian exaggeration on such subjects.

Immediately on leaving Pétropaulovsk, the Allies encountered two vessels outside the harbour. One, a small Russian government schooner, the *Anadis*, was captured by the *Virago*; the other, the *Sitka*, a merchant-ship of 800 tons, with a valuable cargo of stores and provisions from Hamburg for Pétropaulovsk, was taken by the *President*. The *Anadis* was emptied, dismantled, and burnt; while the *Sitka* was taken away as a prize; and there can be little doubt that the Russians at Pétropaulovsk afterwards suffered severely by the loss of the stores contained in the latter vessel. The French squadron, arriving at San Francisco early in October, remained there several weeks to repair damages, before proceeding southward

to winter-quarters. The Allied fleet was short of provisions and stores; and this appears to have influenced the commanders, in some degree, in abandoning any further operations after the conflict on the 4th. The object of the Allies was not so much to destroy Pétropaulovsk, as to engage and capture the Russian fleet in the Pacific, be it large or small; but it was not until after conversation with the prisoners taken on board the *Sitka*, that the Allied Admirals ascertained particulars respecting certain Russian ships-of-war safely harboured at the mouth of the river Amur, at the south-west corner of the Sea of Okhotsk. Had this knowledge been possessed earlier, it is possible that the Allies would have steered in that direction; but the unfortunate encounter at Pétropaulovsk had unfitted them for further enterprise.

CHAPTER VII.

The Crimea—Arrival of the Allies in the Crimea—Battle of the Alma—The Flank March—Death of Marshal St. Arnaud—Defences of Sebastopol.

We have endeavoured, (though imperfectly) to describe the operations of the contending forces on the Danube; the occupancy by the Austrians of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia; the commotions in the northern and western provinces of Turkey; the struggles of the petty court of Athens to raise a Greek empire on the ruins of the Osmanli power, through the intrigues and crafty scheming of the myrmidons of the czar; the encounters in Asia Minor and the Caucasus; the achievements of the formidable fleets in the Black Sea and the Baltic; and the smaller affairs in the White Sea, and the regions around Kamtchatka;—but all would have been insignificant if it had not been for the stupendous, protracted, but eventually successful campaign in the Crimea.

Both the climate and the soil of the Crimea are remarkably varied—so much so, indeed, that a description which might be perfectly true of one part, would require to be directly reversed in order to become applicable to another. The fact is, the peninsula consists of distinct portions, which are separated from each other by the river Salghir, flowing from west to east. The northern portion is almost wholly composed of extensive plains, which, though bare of trees, are not deficient in rich pasture, except where marshes and salt-lakes are found. Some of these salt-lakes, which are very numerous towards the sea-coast, are fifteen or twenty miles around. Throughout the northern part of the Crimea the climate is decidedly unhealthy, being

oppressively hot in summer, and bitterly cold, as well as damp, in winter.

On the contrary, in the south—particularly in the valleys and mountain slopes—a delicious mild temperature prevails, and fruits of all kinds are produced in rich abundance. Among the productions of this region may be mentioned corn, hemp, flax, tobacco, olives, vines, mulberries, pomegranates, figs, and oranges. Dr. Clarke gives the following description of a district in the south of the Crimea:—"If there exist a terrestrial paradise, it is to be found in the district intervening between Kutchukoy and Sudak, on the south coast of the Crimea. Protected by encircling alps from every cold and blighting wind, and only open to those breezes which are wafted from the south, the inhabitants enjoy every advantage of climate and of situation. Continual streams of crystal water pour down from the mountains upon their gardens, where every species of fruit known in the rest of Europe, and many that are not, attain the highest perfection. Neither unwholesome exhalations, nor chilling winds, nor venomous insects, nor poisonous reptiles, nor hostile neighbours, infest their blessed territory." This bears pretty evident marks of being tinged with the hues of the writer's glowing fancy, though in some respects confirmed by the testimony of other travellers. However true it may be of the particular district in question, there is certainly no other part on the Crimea so highly favoured; for at certain periods of the year reptiles of various kind infest even the south, the air is far from salubrious, and fevers are pretty prevalent.

The authority of various writers has been cited in support of the different views enunciated, but among those who are entitled to credit we have observed that of a man who, from his accuracy of observation, his personal knowledge of the country, and his scientific acquirements, is placed among the foremost. We allude to Pallas, the well-known traveller and naturalist,

who visited Siberia, in 1798, to make astronomical observations. Pallas visited the Taurida, various parts of Russia, and even penetrated to the confines of China. After his second journey to the southern provinces of Russia, he speaks as follows of the Crimea:—

"The climate of the Crimea is subject to great variations. I have experienced some winters, for instance in 1795-6, when the plants of spring were in full flower from the 6th of February, and completely buried in snow the whole of the month of May, but without a strong frost coming on, which might have killed them. The severe winters of 1798-9 and of 1799-1800 lasted, on the other hand, from the end of October to the month of April, with frost more or less severe, and accompanied by violent tempests from the north to such a degree, that the thermometer (Reaumur) fell to 18 degrees under zero, which was, in fact, the extreme cold in the winter of 1787. In the last of those winters, and during the most violent tempests of the north, not only the Sea of Azof and the Bosphorus, but also a part of the Bay of Kaffa and of the Black Sea were frozen, and the ice was strong enough to bear men and horses. But long winters are as little common as the prolonged presence of the snow. The winds are very variable: those of the west and south-west bring rain; those of the south, mild weather with fog; those of the east, dry and calm weather; and of the north, ice. The greatest cold is generally felt in month of February."

The earliest attempts of Russia to obtain possession of the Crimea occurred about the milddle of the seventeenth century. In 1689, the grand invasion was made, headed by Peter the Great, and so sudden and overwhelming was the attack, that it appeared probable that the final subjugation of the people would be made at once; but Selym, the brave Khan, aroused his followers, and drove his foes out of his dominions. But the aggressive march of Russia was still pursued,

defeats were sustained, but the powers of the Czar were great, and the second Catherine carried on by force of arms and force of strategy the same line of policy. Of this we have already penned an historical sketch, telling how treaties were made and broken—broken by the rattle of musketry and the roar of artillery—and how oaths were but as idle breath.

"One of the most important events," says a recent writer, "in connexion with the conquest of the Crimea was the triumphal entry of Catherine into that country. It had long been her ambition to make such an expedition, partly for the purpose of sowing dissensions, and partly, it is said, for the purpose of conducting her grandson, Constantine, to the gates of the vast empire which she intended to bequeath to him. On the 18th of June, 1787, she set out from St. Petersburg, accompanied by her ladies and favourites, and the ambassadors of England, France, and Austria; but without her grandson, who, much to her chagrin, was taken suddenly ill with measles, just as the expedition was on the point of starting. The imperial procession travelled day and night, without cessation; a great number of horses being posted at each station, in order that no time might be lost. Fires were lighted along the road, at equal distances, and immense crowds were gathered in different parts to witness the spectacle, and to congratulate their sovereign on her new acquisitions. Arrived at the Dnieper, she found fifty magnificent galleys in waiting to convey her down the river. At Kanieff she was visited by the King of Poland; and at Krementschouk an army of 12,000 men, brilliantly accoutred, enacted her wars with the Turks in divers manœuvres. The borders of the Dnieper were covered with fictitious villages, elegantly-dressed peasants, and numerous flocks and herds, all in the most flourishing condition. So that what with the natural beauty of the season, and the magical effects of the artist, this barren, ugly region had all the appearance of a delicious, richly-peopled coun-

try. At Kherson she was joined by the Emperor Joseph II. At Perekop she was welcomed by the principal Myrzas, whose troops made evolutions; a thousand Tartars, at the same time, surrounding the imperial carriages, to escort them into the peninsula. This movement at first excited considerable alarm; but Potemkin restored tranquillity by assuring the Empress that the Tartars in question had been chosen by himself for the express purpose of acting as her escort into her newly-conquered province.

"The degrading insult to the Crim Tartar race, couched under this obsequious homage, is but too apparent. Here were a thousand Tartars openly conducting a Russian sovereign to the palace of their Khan. Not content with having bribed this people to betray their country and their King, the Russian intriguer must make them repeat the dastardly act for the amusement of the Empress!" Such was the recognised beginning of imperial sway in the Crimea.

The Crimea, having an area little in excess of that of Wales, presents an irregular quadrilateral figure, with the corners directed nearly to the four cardinal points, and with a peninsula attached to its eastern extremity, called the peninsula of Kertch. The greatest distance north and south, from Perekop to a cape near Balaklava, is about 125 miles in a straight line; while the extent east and west is 200 miles. On three sides it is washed by the Black Sea, and by the Sea of Azof on the fourth. The Isthmus of Perekop (called Orkapi by the Tartars), by which the Crimea is connected with the mainland, is about twenty miles long by four in its narrowest part: it is washed on the west by the Black Sea, and on the east by the Sivach Moré or Putrid Sea, an arm of the Sea of Azof.

No country in the world, perhaps, presents a greater contrast, within the number of miles, than the Crimea, so far as concerns the natural features of the surface. Three-fourths of the area constitute an arid plain or steppe, occasionally interrupted by hollows,

but for the most part flat, dull, and dreary, having a soil in which sand is a principal constituent. In the neighbourhood of the two seas, this plain is dotted with numerous small lakes, shallow and salt; separated from the beach by low narrow strips of land, and surrounded by a soil impregnated with salt. In this whole extent—as large as Yorkshire—the Crimean plain is almost entirely destitute of wood and water, although it has a little green-sward; as a consequence, its inhabitants are few, and its appearance desolate. The inhospitable nature of the region has rendered it a task of much difficulty to the Russians, since their occupation of the Crimea, to send supplies inland to Sebastopol and Simferopol, either from Perekop, or from Arabat to Genitchi, or other places on the shore of the Sea of Azof. One of the most remarkable features of this uninviting waste, is the Kosa Arabatskaïa, or Kotche a tongue of land, beginning at the town of Arabat, where the peninsula of Kertch joins the larger section of the Crimea, and extending northward till it nearly touches the mainland of Russia at Genitchi; it cuts off the Putrid Sea from the Sea of Azof in every part except the Strait of Genitchi. This tongue, although more than sixty miles long, is little more than a quarter of a mile in general width; it is low, sandy, salt, and marked by several small lakes or ponds of salt water; a road, extending along its whole length, contains a few inns at distant intervals; and these inns present the only relief to the oppressive monotony of the region.

Far different is the southern part of the Crimea, with its bold hills and fertile valleys. A mountainous tract extends nearly parallel with the south-eastern coast, from Cape Chersonese, near Sebastopol, to Kaffa, whence to Yenikalé it is hilly, if not mountainous. This mountainous tract, in some parts forty miles wide, has an average width of twenty miles; between Baiaklava and Alushta, past Alupka and Yalta, it rears its head like an immense wall near the sea, in-

terrupted by bold headlands, fearful precipices, and small sheltered inlets. As the crest of the mountain-ridge, generally about 2000 feet in height, is not far distant from the sea, the streams which descend to the coast are short and torrent-like. The summit of the ridge presents, not a series of peaks, but an undulating plateau or table-land, relieved at intervals by bolder elevations; the plateau is enriched with good herbage for cattle during the short hot summer; but the snows, which remain during a somewhat lengthened winter, render it for the most part unfitted for permanent habitation. The gradually sloping ground from the plateau to the northern plain, and the strip of beach along the southern shores, constitute the most fruitful, habitable, and valuable portions of the Crimea; indeed, the lateral ridges and the smaller hills north of the plateau, inclose valleys of the most exquisite character, which draw forth encomiums from every traveller; and when it is considered that a few hours' ride will change this lovely scene to one of depressing monotony and dreariness, the diversified character of the Crimea will be sufficiently understood. The most elevated part of the Crimea is the Tchatir-dagh, "tent-mountain," having a flat top surrounded by a number of tent-like elevations, the highest peak being 5000 or 6000 feet above the level of the sea. The rivers Alma and Salghir flow from the Tchatir-dagh; the Katcha, and Belbek, and the Tchernaya, from the more western plateau; while the Tchuruk-su and other rivers take their origin further to the east.

The southern coast of the Crimea gradually became, during the first half of this century, the Ventnor or Bonchurch for wealthy Russian families; it possesses all, and more than all the beauties of the Isle of Wight during the summer months; and, as a consequence, it became studded with the holiday mansions of the Galitsins and the Woronsows of the empire. The tourists' road, if so it may be called,

runs along the coast from Alushta to Yalta and Alupka, and so through the small valley of Baidar to Balaklava, traversing a scene of varied beauty from end to end. Mr. Scot speaks thus concerning it: "The last eight miles of the journey to Yalta is through a lovely country, where the mountains again recede from the coast, giving place to a series of valleys, over which nature has spread some of her choicest blessings—unrivalled position, soil, aspect, and climate; and man has not forgotten to acknowledge these generous gifts. The fairest flowers and fruits of the earth are there cultivated, and the châteaux of the nobility are studded about. We seemed once more to have reached civilisation: elegant private carriages, gentlemen on horseback, and well-dressed women, were to be seen as we dashed through a village of villas." If this description renders intelligible the delight of the Russians in spending a summer or autumn in the Southern Crimea, Mr Danby Seymour's account of the Northern Crimea in winter will bring vividly before us the terrific nature of the steppe, and the stupendous difficulties necessarily encountered in the transport of an army, of provisions, or of commodities of any kind, across such a country in such a season: "During the winter, the ground is covered with snow, which at times lies several feet deep. Unimpeded by mountains, forests, or rising-ground, the winds from the north-east passing over many hundred miles of frozen ground, (in the country around the river Don), blow with resistless violence, and often uninterruptedly for several weeks. When the frost is severe, and the snow in a dry powdery state, the wind drifts it about and obscures the air. These snow-storms are called by the inhabitants 'metel' or 'boura,' and have often proved fatal to the half-frozen, blinded, and bewildered traveller, who, having lost his way, is wandering over the dreary icy steppe in quest of refuge. Detached houses and whole villages are sometimes buried by the drifting snow,

through which the inmates are obliged to cut their way. At times the traveller looks in vain for the solitary post-house at which he is always anxious to arrive, and learns that he has reached his temporary resting-place only by a slight rise in the snow, and by his sledge being overturned into a hole, through which he creeps down into the cottage, which is sometimes thus buried for several weeks. When the wind blows with violence, and the snow is drifted about in eddies, the storm has a singularly bewildering and stunning effect; the inhabitants themselves lose their way; and the herds of horses, cattle, and sheep that happen to be surprised by it, become seized with panic, and, rushing headlong before the gale, defy every obstacle that presents itself to their wild career—they are then inevitably lost." The experience of the Russian armies during the war verified most fearfully this character of the Crimean steppes when covered with snow and blasted by wintry winds.

With such scanty knowledge as they had been able to gather, the commanders, in obedience to orders from their respective governments, prepared to make a descent on the Crimea. The town of Sebastopol with its magnificent harbour, fortress, arsenal, and fleet, being the principal object of attention, there arose an inquiry whether a landing should be made on the western or southern coast. Many military authorities were of opinion, both before and after the achievement, that a happier selection of a landing-place might have been made; but the commanders having resolved on a descent upon some point of the western coast, northward of Sebastopol, the only question now to determine was—how far distant should this point be? The rivers Belbek, Katcha, and Alma flow into Kalamita Bay, north of Sebastopol, and all are commanded by rising-grounds on their southern banks, and if these slight elevations were defended by the Russians, a landing would be very difficult. On the other hand, if a landing were effected at Eupatoria, higher up the

coast, the invading army would be enforced to traverse forty or fifty miles of waterless plains to reach Sebastopol, whether or not a Russian antagonist might appear. There was a choice of difficulties; and circumstances afterwards proved that the commanders had not arranged their plans even when the vast armament had reached the Crimean shores.

Never in modern times had such an armament been seen—never such a display of war-vessels, and transports laden with troops, speckling one sea at one time: bright pendants flying, bands playing, the scarlet of the soldier contrasting with the blue of the sailor, the steamers vomiting forth their curling smoke, and the guns booming forth their signals or their courtesies. The admirals conferred with the generals on the formation of a plan for supplying ships to transport the troops, and for the establishment of such rules as might obviate danger and confusion during the voyage and the landing. It was arranged that each division of the army should have a complete division or fleet of transports at its service, and that each of these fleets should be conveyed by a squadron of war-ships—thereby establishing a bond of connection between the troops, the transports, and the men-of-war, and between the generals, admirals, and captains. The last week in August and the first in September were weeks of incessant movement: English and French soldiers; and English artillery (the French artillery came by another route, without being landed at or near Varna) being brought down to the beach, and there embarked on board the transports, several hundreds in number. That the transports were indeed numerous will easily be imagined, when it is considered that 60,000 or 70,000 troops were about to be conveyed from the shores of Bulgaria to those of the Crimea, a distance of not less than 300 miles. The smaller transport-vessels were appropriated to the conveyance of the infantry, the artillery, and the immense stores required by a large army;

but the British cavalry were for the most part conveyed in the magnificent steamers which had already acquired a reputation more than European—the 8th Hussars and the 17th Lancers in the *Himalaya*, the 4th Dragoons in the *Simla*, the 13th Dragoons in the *Jason*, the 11th Hussars in the *Trent*, &c.

The immense squadron of ships conveying the allied forces extended for nine miles, with an unknown depth, so that, as far as the eye could reach, the spars of the vessels of both nations were seen rising from the water. Old Fort, where the landing was effected, is, according to the best maps, 21½ miles to the north of Sabastopol, and 14 to the south of Eupatoria, a little above the Bulganak. This position is indicated in some maps by the name of Traktir. As the English ships drew up in lines as nearly as possible parallel to the beach, the French fleets passed under steam and extended to the right. Their small war-steamers went much nearer the shore than our own were allowed to go, and soon the tri-color was floating on the beach, and the shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" rang through the air. The French were the first to take possession of the Crimea.

The place selected for the landing of the British troops was a low strip of beach and shingle, cast up by the violence of the surf, and forming a sort of causeway between the sea and a stagnant salt-water lake, one of those remarkable deposits of brackish water so frequent along the shores of the Crimea. The causeway is not more than 200 yards broad, leading to an irregular table land, extending with gentle undulations to the chain of rocky heights called the Tent Mountains. As the vessels approached the shore, the prolific character of the country became apparent; and fields of corn and pasture lands, herds of cattle, and grain in stalk, with many a pleasant-looking farm-house, gave indications of prosperity. From the earth arose an aromatic perfume from the wild lavender covering the stubble fields, and here and there groups of the people

—not unlike the Bulgarians in appearance—were seen at various parts. The aspect of the country was peculiarly beautiful, as its cultivated spots and wild barrenness, its hills and valleys, became distinguished beneath the beams of the noonday sun.

We have said the French were the first to land; and everything connected with that landing was admirably conducted, and did great credit to the military skill and discipline of the imperial troops. The whole labour and responsibility of the disembarkation of our troops rested with Sir Edmund Lyons—no light or easy task. At the appointed time a black ball was run up the fore of the Agamemnon, and the report of a gun was heard. The boats then gathered around the ships, and the disembarkation began in earnest. It was a grand and imposing sight; those vast masses of men, with their red coats and glistening bayonets, crowding where but a few hours before the sea-gull and the wild fowl alone were seen. Now the whole line of coast was thronged with men—men bent on conquest—men of different nations, who had united in this expedition, and were determined to uphold with their lives truth and justice against tyranny and wrong. The loading and unloading is described as having been a very amusing sight. A gig or cutter, pulled by eight or twelve sailors, with a paddle-box boat, flat, or Turkish pinnace, would come alongside a steamer or transport, in which troops were ready for disembarkation. The officers of each company first descended, each man in full dress. The officers were followed by the privates, each carrying his blanket and great-coat strapped up into a kind of knapsack, inside of which was a pair of boots, a pair of socks, a shirt, and a forage cap; they also carried water canteens, rations, firelock, bayonet, cartouch box, fifty rounds of ball cartridge for rifle, and sixty rounds for smooth bore arms.

As this busy scene was at its height, and the throng of soldiery on the shore and boats upon the water ru-

pidly increased, news came that a Russian camp had been discovered not eight miles distant. Orders were immediately issued for the Sampson, the Fury, and the Vesuvius, together with three French steamers, to proceed to the place indicated. There the report was confirmed. A Russian camp of 6,000 men was discovered not a mile from the shore. The steamers opened fire with shell. The French were unsuccessful, but the English pitched shell after shell in among the tents, knocking them over right and left, and driving out the soldiers in swarms.

While this was going on, the disembarkation was still continued, and the good feeling subsisting between the soldiers and sailors is graphically described by a writer in the leading journal:—

"As each man came creeping down the ladder, Jack helped him along tenderly from rung to rung till he was safe in the boat, took his firelock and stowed it away, removed his knapsack and packed it snugly under the seat, patted him on the back, and told him 'not to be afeerd on the water;' treated 'the sojer,' in fact, in a very kind and tender way, as though he were a large but not very sagacious 'pet,' who was not to be frightened or lost sight of on any account, and did it all so quickly that the large paddle-box boats, containing 100 men, were filled in five minutes. Then the latter took the paddle-box in tow, leaving her, however, in charge of a careful coxwain, and the same attention was paid to *getting* the 'sojer' on shore that was evinced in getting him into the boat, the sailors (half or wholly naked in the surf) standing by at the bows, and handing each man and his accoutrements down the plank to the shingle, for fear 'he'd fall off and hurt himself.' Never did men work better than the blue-jackets; especially valuable were they with horses and artillery, and their delight at having a horse to hold and to pat all to themselves was excessive. When the gun-carriages stuck fast in the shingle, half-a-dozen herculean seamen rushed at the wheels, and

with a 'Give way, my lads—all together;' soon pushed it out with a run, and landed it on the hard sand. No praise can do justice to the willing labour of these fine fellows. They never relaxed their efforts as long as man or horse of the expedition remained to be landed, and many of them, officers as well as men, were twenty-four hours in their boats.

The first night on shore was about as wretched as it is possible to conceive. Seldom have 27,000 English men been more miserable. The sky grew black and lowering, the wind arose and the rain fell. The showers increased in violence about midnight, and early in the morning the water fell in drenching sheets, which pierced through the blankets and great-coats of the houseless and tentless soldiers. During the night it blew freshly from the west, a heavy sea tumbled into the bay, and sent a high surf on the beach.

On the following day the high surf upon the beach greatly interfered with the operations of the troops, especially in the landing of the cavalry and artillery. Several valuable horses were drowned. Never perhaps did men work so cheerfully and so well, under such drawbacks and disadvantages. Before the day was out, orders were given to land the tents—an order which was very readily obeyed—the men had experienced enough of the inconvenience of being without them. They did not seek a repetition of the miseries of the night before. Whilst our poor fellows had been soaked through, their Gallic allies had provided themselves with tents; an example our men were glad enough to follow. On the next day the disembarkation was continued with even increased spirit and energy. Provisions, too, became plentiful, sixty arabas laden with flour having been seized on their way to Sebastopol, and a meat and vegetable market being also established.

Throughout all these operations, reports were raised from time to time of a Russian attack, and the utmost vigilance and caution had to be observed. They

marched at length towards the object of their coming, and as their ranks approached the Alma, the utmost enthusiasm prevailed—enthusiasm not to be daunted by the wild stories of the Tartars as to the whole country being undermined, awaiting but a signal to hurl the invaders to destruction. Such stories are always common enough in time of war.

Various rumours were afloat as to the actual extent and position of the Russian army. All these rumours were contradictory, as by some the forces of the Czar were represented as amounting to 8,000 men on the road to Sebastopol, and by others to 45,000.

On the night of the 18th, Lord Raglan issued orders that the British army should strike tents at daybreak on the 19th, and prepare to march. The French marshal issued like orders to the troops under his command. A striking difference in the arrangements of the two camps was observable in this particular; that the French carried their tents with them, whereas the British re-embarked theirs on board ship. The French conveyed their tents in pieces, each man bearing a share of that which would cover him at night; whether it was that the British tents were too heavy, or so constructed that they could not readily be separated into portions, the result was unquestionable—that the British troops had thereafter to pass many a comfortless night without shelter, while their companions in arms were under canvas. It may have been that, as the Cossacks and Russian cavalry were known by this time to be employed in laying waste the country, sweeping off the supplies, and burning all the houses that lay between Old Fort and the Alma, the march was ordered too hastily to permit the tents to be taken. Be this as it may, however, the tents were ordered to be conveyed down to the beach; and boats came from the ships to re-embark them, and one brigade of the 4th division remained on the spot until this duty was performed.

The march began in early morn. Officers and men

scrambled up after their hasty night's rest, and made such arrangements for equipping and breakfasting, as circumstances permitted. The scarcity of water was a sad evil; it limited the power of obtaining an early repast, and it prevented the men filling their kegs preparatory to a march over ground where water was nearly unattainable. Some of the officers breakfasted on cold pork and "a pull at the water-barrel," while large numbers of the men started without a morning meal of any kind.

It was a splendid sight. Stretching far and wide, presenting a martial front from east to west, and advancing in columns separated by small intervals, this army of more than 60,000 chosen men formed a gallant body. Here, the red coats of the line regiments, the bear-skin caps of the Guards, the picturesque dress of the Highlanders, relieved by the sober darkness of the riflemen; there, the simple caps or shakos of the French, the bulky red trousers of the Zouave, the flowing costume of the other African regiments, and the nimble tirailleurs; further on, the Turks, Europeanised except in relation to the red fez; and each—British, French, and Turk—anxious to stand well in the eyes of the others. The artillery too threw its bright specks into the picture. Each British division of infantry was attended by a division of artillery, consisting of eight 9-pounder guns, and two 24-pounder howitzers; and with the cavalry division was a troop of 6-pounder horse-artillery. As the artillery maintained a position at the right of its respective division, it threw a diversity into the scene. Turks close to the beach; French next; then English; then cavalry; and Rifles and light skirmishers furthest inland—presented a magnificent front; while behind these came the trains of horses carrying the reserve ammunition, the baggage-animals, the arabas with sick men and commissariat stores, the droves of oxen and sheep—which the commissaries had with immense difficulty collected—and the rear-guard to bring up the whole. The moving mass covered se-

veral square miles, and carried with it the hopes of three nations. Nor was even this the limit of the picture; a splendid fleet steamed and sailed southward as the army marched and rode southward—each, fleet and army, watching and admiring the other.

It was apparent to the troops that an encounter was not far distant; for on the afternoon of the 19th, before the expedition had reached the Bulganak, curling wreaths of smoke could be discerned on the south and east, marking the spots where villages and houses had been fired by the Cossacks, and where the poor Tartars were rendered homeless by this characteristic specimen of Russian tactics. Next could be seen hovering upon and around the distant hills, dark bodies of cavalry, whose object appeared to be to check the advance of the Allies by harassing attacks on the left flank. A portion of cavalry, about 500 in number, belonging to the 8th, and the 11th Hussars, and the 13th Light Dragoons, commanded by the Earl of Cardigan, galloped onwards to meet the Cossacks. These Cossacks appeared thrice the number of the small force which went out against them; therefore Lord Raglan ordered them to be recalled. Whilst these skirmishers were slowly returning to the main body, the Cossack squadrons separated so far as to give play to some pieces of artillery, which poured forth a succession of shot upon this small body of British cavalry. By this time a troop of horse-artillery had arrived, which dealt out its missives with such effect as to cause the Russians to retire. Had this small body of 500 cavalry advanced farther up the hill, there is no doubt but perhaps one half would have been swept down by the hidden Russian artillery. The few casualties of broken arms and legs consequent upon the Russian shots showed that British troops could bear pain without wincing. This work was not, however, left wholly to the English, for a body of French wound round the hill, and scattered a squadron of Russian cavalry by a few 9-pounders. Prince Menschikoff's plans were to take up

a defensive position on the Alma; and, in his account of this his first encounter with the Allied troops, he did not give exactly the same colouring to it as the Allies; but as the skirmish was merely a trifle, neither side attempted to make much of it. When the whole of the Allies—the Russians having retired to the Alma—had crossed the Bulganak, preparations were made to bivouac for the night—a night which was cold, damp, and comfortless;—and sleep, in most instances, was out of the question. Many, however, having been weakened by cholera, at Varna, slept the sleep of death, that night, and were not permitted to be partakers in the victory of the coming day.

Morning dawned on the 20th of September—the day of the BATTLE OF THE ALMA—amid a busy camp, a buckling-on of accoutrements, a harnessing of horses, and a hasty breakfasting on the part of those who had time and materials for obtaining that welcome repast. Many expected, though none could know, that the dawn would usher in the day on which the first great battle would be fought by the English and French armies during this war—the only contests worthy of note before that day having fallen to the lot of the Turks, on the banks of the Danube and in Asia. Lord Raglan had made his head-quarters at a little post-house on the banks of the Bulganak, which the Cossacks had not succeeded in quite destroying by fire; whether the officers had aught to cover them is doubtful: the supper, the sleep, the breakfast, were all *al fresco*, leaving few domestic chattels to be disposed of when the morning's march commenced. The distance from the Bulganak to the Alma is between four and five miles; and as it was by this time known that the Russians had strongly posted themselves on the banks of the last-named river, the Allies prepared by proper equipment for an encounter as soon as the Alma should be reached. The French had bivouacked during the night nearest to the sea; next to them the Turks; and the English further inland—the three camps form-

ing a line nearly three miles in extent, at right-angles with the sea-shore. In this same order did they commence their march southward to the Alma; the line being now much more than three miles in length, owing to the skirmishing outposts of rifles and light cavalry, scattered far and wide inland to keep a keen watch on the enemy.

To understand the military operations of this momentous day, it becomes necessary to notice—first the topographical features of the river's banks; then the arrangements made by the Russians in defence of those banks; and next, the plans of the Allies in relation to the forcing of a passage.

The river Alma, formed by the junction of several streams which have their origin in the Tchatir-dagh, flows north-west to the road leading from Sebastopol to Simferopol, being crossed by that road at a point between Baktchéserai and the last-named town. From this point a course nearly westward takes it to the sea; its banks being dotted with several villages, of which those nearest to the scene of action are Kanitchkoï, Tarkhanter, Bourliouk, Almatamak, and Akleft. The river, cutting through a soft red clay soil, is in most places shallow enough to be forded; but there are occasional depths which render fording dangerous. The highest bank is sometimes on the right, sometimes on the left of the river; but for a considerable distance near the mouth it is on the left or south side; and thus the Allies, coming from the north, found themselves on the banks of a stream commanded by higher ground on the other side. Small rivulets force their way into the Alma on the south bank, forming miniature ravines, or lateral valleys, which separate the southern banks into hillocks, knolls, or detached heights. The road from Old Fort joins the road from Simferopol at a point near the village of Bourliouk, and is carried over the Alma by a timber bridge. The knolls near the river's bank become united further inland into a plateau, which is commanded by a hilly ridge 600

or 700 feet in height, extending quite to the sea, where it presents an abrupt cliff: this ridge, like the lower plateau, being cut up by lateral gullies into isolated hills.

Such being the topographical features of the river and its banks, there was an obvious advantage on the part of the Russians over the Allies, both in the possession of higher ground, and in the defences they had had a whole week to form since the Allies made a landing at Eupatoria. Prince Menschikoff, who commanded in the Crimea at that time, did not fail to make use of these precious days. He took possession of all the heights which commanded the gullies, the river, and the northern bank: planting formidable batteries at every salient position; some were earthworks, hastily thrown up, but armed with 24 and 32-pounders; while others were field-batteries, further aided by howitzers. The chief of these batteries was an earthen redoubt, whose face formed two sides of a triangle, with the apex pointing towards the little bridge over the Alma, and the sides directed to two reaches or bends of the river, one above and the other below the bridge: this single work, therefore, commanding an extensive portion of the river's course. Not only was this redoubt rendered formidable by its position near the brow of a hill, but the ascent to it was enfiladed or commanded by three or four batteries placed on neighbouring heights, the guns of which swept the slope of the hill leading up to the redoubt, or could readily be made to bear upon the bridge and the village. The various batteries and the redoubts were heavily armed with ordnance, mostly brass guns of fine workmanship. Further to defend the ridge, and to prevent an ascent up the slopes which led to it, masses of skirmishers, armed with rifles, were placed; insomuch that it would, in every sense, be an uphill struggle on the part of an enemy attempting to gain the ridge. The redoubt, being placed near the spot where the high road from Eupatoria to Sebastopol cuts across the ridge, was vir-

tually the key to the whole position: whoever retained that redoubt, when the battle was over, would be the victor of the day. A large force of Russian lancers and heavy dragoons, and a formidable body of infantry, were ready to defend these batteries at all points, and to descend upon the Allies if any favourable opportunity should offer. The right wing was on the east of the main road; the centre on the west of the same road; while the left wing extended from the centre some distance towards the sea, from which the important point occupied by the redoubt was two and a half miles distant. An additional defence lay in this: that although the river is shallow, and generally fordable, the banks are extremely rugged, and in most parts steep; the willows along the margin were cut down by the Russians, to prevent them from affording cover to the attacking party. Lord Raglan, in his despatch relating to the battle, shows how much he was impressed with the strength of the Russian position, the defences of which he estimated at not less than 45,000 or 50,000 men, besides the formidable artillery. Marshal St. Arnaud reported to his government that the Russian forces included the 16th and 17th divisions of infantry, a brigade of the 13th division, a brigade of the riflemen, a force of about 5000 cavalry, and four brigades of artillery.

The plans which the Allies formed for forcing a passage through these tremendous obstacles were as follow:—On the morning of the 20th, before the battle, the extreme right of the Allies was in the rear of the village of Loukoul, a short distance from the mouth of the Alma: it consisted of General Bosquet's or the 2d French division, with the Turks in the rear; both being within a short distance of the sea, where the combined fleets could be seen in majestic array. The centre consisted of the 1st French division, under General Canrobert, and the 3d under Prince Napoleon, with the 4th division and the artillery in reserve. Further inland still, forming the left wing of the Allied army,

were the 2d and light British divisions, under Sir de Lacy Evans and Sir George Brown; behind these were the 3d and 1st divisions, under Sir Richard England and the Duke of Cambridge; and to bring up the rear, the 4th division under Sir George Cathcart, and the cavalry division under the Earl of Lucan. About 65,000 men were thus placed in splendid order, with a frontage of nearly four miles, and a depth of half a mile. The system of operation determined on by the Allied commanders consisted principally in this—that the French right should assail the Russian left by crossing the Alma at and near its junction with the sea, and climbing the steep rugged cliffs to the heights above; that the French left and the English right should cross the river at or near the bridge, and ascend the heights immediately opposite; while the English left should operate on the landward flank of the enemy. In view of the formidable position of the great redoubt, the English would appear to have had the hardest work cut out for them; but this could only be judged by the result. Boats had, on the previous day, ascertained that the Alma was fordable near its mouth, and that one of the French divisions could easily cross it. Admiral Hamelin, it was arranged, should place eight French steamers off the cliff which forms the seaside end of the ridge, to pour in a storm of shells upon any battery or battalion of the enemy which might attempt to interrupt the crossing of the troops.

It fell to the lot of General Bosquet to commence the battle, aided in a remarkable manner by the French steamers. The heights descend to the sea so abruptly and steeply, that Menschikoff appears to have relied mainly on natural defences at this part, placing most of his men and guns further inland, near the high road. The Allied commanders had not failed to notice this circumstance; and Bosquet's attack was part of a plan for taking advantage of it: it was hoped that he might be able to ascend the rugged cliff-like steep, to gain the plateau, to outflank the left of the enemy, and thus

distract them from the main attack in front. Rapidly but steadily did the French and Turks advance, crossing the Alma very near its mouth, and sending ahead a party of skirmishers and light troops to clear the gardens and brush-wood of any opponents; but none such appeared; for either the Russians did not regard the movement as one of importance, or they had no available batteries or battalions to bring to bear on that point. With inconceivable activity the French climbed the cliff: the Zouaves being especially agile at this work—running, leaping, crawling on hands and knees, surmounting all obstacles of bush and gully. They gained the plateau; and then, and then only, did the Russians open upon them. A smart interchange of firing took place, and Bosquet advanced by degrees towards the central position, although no fewer than five batteries were pouring forth their missiles.

During the single hour, from half-past eleven to half-past twelve, in which Bosquet was thus employed in obtaining possession of the heights between the enemy and the sea, Canrobert, with the 1st and part of the 4th divisions, was making arrangements to afford him aid at a time when he was becoming severely pressed by the Russian batteries. The river was boldly crossed by a ford at the village of Almatamak; and Canrobert and Prince Napoleon found a small path which led up to the heights; artillery was dragged up the opposite slopes in face of the Russian batteries and sharp-shooters; and Bosquet, this diversion being made, was enabled to maintain his advantageous position. In order still further to assist Bosquet, Marshal St. Arnaud sent to him the remaining moiety of General Forey's division, the 4th; and thus there were two streams of French troops crossing at different points, to aid Bosquet in maintaining his advantageous position.

Now commenced a most exciting struggle. As Bosquet advanced by one oblique route, and Canrobert by another, they met on the heights near an unfinished

octagonal tower, which was probably intended for a telegraph; and around this spot the Russians had assembled a formidable power of infantry and field-batteries. Again and again did the French attack; and each time did the Russians repel the onslaught. The Zouaves, more Arab than French in appearance, fought with all the ardour which Algerine campaigning had engendered; bullets were forgotten as soon as the men came within bayonet distance; hand-to-hand contests were maintained on all sides; and it became at length difficult for the batteries on either side to fire without hitting their own men. When at length the French obtained command of the position, and the Russians retired, the vicinity of the tower was found to be covered with an unbroken mass of wounded and dying men, the opponents intermingled one among another. The French fleet afforded valuable aid during these operations; the steamers ran in as close as they could to the bluff cliff, and shelled the heights in amazing style—pouring forth these terrible missiles, which passed over the crest of the bluff, and fell among the Russian batteries and battalions, at a distance of 3000 yards from the ships.

Hot work this had been for the French. In the centre of the line, too, the exertions were immense, and the success great. The general movement of Marshal St. Arnaud, with the chief of his forces, commenced at the moment when Bosquet with his division appeared on the heights. Infantry and artillery pressed on towards the river, pouring out volleys against the Russian sharp-shooters, and forcing them to retreat up the opposite slope. The French dashed into the river, each man crossing where he could or where he liked, reformed on the other side, and pressed onward and upward with irresistible force: the infantry and guns in the lower position gradually gaining an ascendancy over those in the upper. The marshal and the officers were on the alert during this period, galloping about from point to point, to render aid where aid seemed to

be most required; and the troops behaved with the ardour and courage which the French are wont to exhibit. The same men who would have cried "*Vive la Republique!*" at one time, now cried "*Vive l'Empereur!*" for the glory of France was in either case the sentiment which animated them: the cry was a battle-cry, an outpouring of enthusiasm.

Few but terrible were the hours during which the British were engaged in fighting on this day of blood, and trying was the ordeal to be passed through by the men, very few of whom had actually seen war; but Lord Raglan trusted in them, and his trust was not in vain. When the movement began, the light division, strengthened by horse-artillery, and the 2d division, fronted the enemy, and were likely to be the first to fire and to receive fire; the 1st and 3d divisions were in the rear; while the 4th division and the cavalry were still further from the river, to act as a reserve, and to protect the left flank and rear against large bodies of the enemy's cavalry which had been seen in those directions. The advance having commenced, and the banks of the river nearly attained, the Allies were thrown into some confusion by the well-timed burning, by the Russians, of the village of Bourliouk, directly opposite the centre of the Russian position: it was well-timed, because such a manœuvre, among the sad but inevitable concomitants of warlike tactics, created a continuous blaze and smoke for 300 yards, obscured the Russian position, and obstructed the plans of the British for crossing the river. The advance was to be made when the French right had gained a certain position on the heights; and, awaiting this moment, Lord Raglan ordered his troops to lie down, to escape in some measure the murderous hail; there they lay, balls and shells falling into and upon and among them; until at length the general, brooking no longer delay, ordered a rise and an advance. Sir de Lacy Evans's division thereupon separated into two brigades, one of which forded the river above the burning vil-

lage, and the other below; the fording-places being deep and dangerous, and a destructive fire being maintained against them by the infantry and artillery on the opposite bank. And now did the execution become indeed tremendous; for the Russians had placed twigs and sticks to mark the exact angles at which their ordnance would command the banks of the river at various points. Missiles whizzed over the heads of the British troops, ploughed in among their columns, rebounded, dashed up the soil in clouds, and carried death into every regiment. The disadvantages were rendered still more obvious by this circumstance; that, owing to the steepness and ruggedness of the banks, the artillerymen found it almost impossible to transport their guns to the opposite side of the stream; insomuch that the battle was far advanced ere two guns were successfully brought over by Captain Dickson.

It was the light division, under Sir George Brown, that crossed the river under the most trying circumstances; for this division was directly in front of the hill on which the formidable redoubt was placed. The banks of the river at that spot, rugged and broken, offered serious obstacles; and the vineyards through which the troops had to pass, as well as trees which the enemy had felled, created additional impediments, which prevented the men from forming in compact order. The noble fellows bore a fierce torrent of shot, shell, and musketry, while wading through the Alma; and then scrambled up the slopes, through thickets and vineyards, scattered and dispersed, and exposed to a terrible fire in front and on both flanks. They were mowed down with fearful rapidity; but, on the other hand, the English artillery wrought yet more fatal execution on the dense masses of Russian infantry, posted on various parts of the slope of the hills. Lord Raglan and his staff plunged into the river, and crossed near the bridge; three of his staff-officers were struck down by the side of their commander, and the contest became most deadly. The

veteran Sir George Brown saw his division cut down by fifties at a time; but he never wavered; he headed his men; he was unhorsed, but rose again, shouting "Twenty-third, I'm all right!"

Now came the time when the 1st division, under the Duke of Cambridge, was to do its work: it consisted of splendid troops—Guards and Highlanders. Grandly it advanced, crossing the river, and ascending the slopes in defence of the light division, advancing in line as if on parade, and regarding with superb disdain the batteries and dense columns high above them—arriving gradually nearer and nearer to the redoubt, but having its ranks thinned at every instant by the incessant fire from the various batteries. An immense and compact body of Russian infantry was now seen approaching, to aid still more in defence of the main redoubt. The crisis approached. Unless the redoubt could be taken, the passage of the ridge could not be forced, nor the victory gained; while, unless the Russian phalanx could be broken, the British could hardly hope to reach the redoubt. A few large guns were therefore brought to bear upon the dense mass; and these, by a well-directed fire, broke it, and forced the infantry to retreat in various directions. Then came the moment for the grand charge of the Guards and the Highlanders; the former approaching the redoubt on the right, and the latter on the left. Cheered on by their commanders, they dashed up. Sir Colin Campbell, leading his Highlanders, and reminding them in a few terse exclamations of the old glories of the regiments, rushed up, ordering the men not to fire a shot until they came near the redoubt, when the musket and the bayonet were to work in rapid succession. The Duke of Cambridge cheered on the Guards, who, however, needed little prompting to do their duty at such a moment. Up they went, Guards and Highlanders, through thickets, across gullies, over *abattis* of sharp-pointed branches, and amid the firing of batteries and

battalions on all sides. They met the Russians muzzle to muzzle: they entered the redoubt; and the 1st, 2d, and light divisions speedily commanded the hill and its defences, and virtually achieved the victory; but not before the vicinity of the redoubt had become strewn with slain. The French by that time had attained a position which enabled them to pour in a destructive fire upon the retreating masses; if they could have advanced somewhat further on the plateau, they would have seriously impeded the retirement of the Russians; but the battle had been fought chiefly by infantry on the part of the Allies, and there was no cavalry in a position to pursue the enemy. Hence Menschikoff was able to retire in tolerable order, and to carry off his guns: this, however, he could not effect until he had brought up his reserve cavalry and artillery to cover the retreat.

So many concurrent movements were made during the battle, that it becomes difficult to recognise their relative bearings one upon another; but, expressed in brief, they may be understood as follows:—General Bosquet's division succeeded in turning the enemy's left flank, by the clever ascent of the bluff near the sea; General Canrobert's division, with some field pieces, crossed the river about a mile higher up, ascended the opposite bank, relieved Bosquet, and enabled him to maintain his commanding position; Prince Napoleon's and Sir de Lacy Evans's divisions crossed the river at various points near the centre of the scene of operations, and surmounted the numerous obstacles presented on the opposite banks; while Sir George Brown's and the Duke of Cambridge's divisions crossed above the bridge and burning village, and maintained the fearful struggle on the ascent to the heights. The artillery was brought effectively to bear on such points as it could command, and contributed materially to the success of the day's achievements. The cavalry was not called upon for active service; but its position was important, keeping in check the lancers

and the dragoons whom Menschikoff despatched to the left flank of the Allies. Sir George Cathcart's and Sir Richard England's divisions were not largely engaged; though called partially to the front, they constituted rather a reserve force available in any contingency which might present itself. The Turks are scarcely mentioned in connection with the operations; they were with Bosquet,—martial in appearance, proud of taking rank beside their Allies, and eager to be employed; yet they were nearly neglected. General Bosquet, it is true, spoke in his dispatch of the "prodigies of rapidity" which the Turks executed in their march towards the Alma; but little mention is made of any duties subsequently assigned to them. It can scarcely be said that the English and French rendered justice to the Turkish soldiery during the war; appellations, partly in pleasantry, and partly contemptuous, were thrown at them; they were condemned and abused if any of their manœuvres terminated unfortunately, while few opportunities were afforded them to display soldierly qualities. This course of proceeding was neither wise nor generous; for, when well commanded, the Turks showed many heroic qualities on the Danube and in Asia. Omar Pasha understood them well; and where he commanded, they fully maintained their ancient military reputation.

Numberless were the tales which all, officers and privates, had to tell of this eventful day. Lord Raglan, in a despatch which scarcely described with sufficient clearness the operations of the battle, pointed out the disadvantages with which his officers and men had to contend. In naming the officers—always an invidious duty—who had distinguished themselves, he somewhat dissatisfied those whose names did not appear; but this is one of the natural consequences of the system—a system of questionable utility, because, as the subordinate officers are rarely mentioned by name, even-handed justice cannot be rendered, however kind and conscientious the general may be. The etiquette

of the English army renders still less possible the naming of any sergeants, corporals, or privates, who may have performed heroic deeds. It was not until the numerous "soldiers' letters" appeared in the public journals, that the minute and wonderful details of the battle of the Alma became known. An opinion has at times been expressed, that such letters constitute the best description of a battle, coming as they do from men who were plunged in the thickest of that which they describe; but it should be considered that soldiers do not know the plans of their commanders, neither can they see what is transpiring in distant parts of the field; the letters are valuable as elucidations of minor matters, which each man may feel acutely, but which become buried among the more important incidents of the day. Many of them, thus regarded, are valuable. They are full of eloquence; the thoughts of home, and the heroic determination of the soldier, are mingled together in a narrative which derives force from its simplicity and truthfulness.

A melancholy time was that when the muster-roll was called over, to ascertain who had been killed, who wounded, at the battle of the Alma. All knew that it would be a fearful list; and a feverish anxiety prevailed in every part of the United Kingdom, from the date of the first telegraphic despatch, to know which beloved father, husband, brother, son, had fallen. It was soon evident, from the peculiar tactics of the battle, that the officers had been very much exposed, and that many families of the higher grades of society would have to join with those of humbler rank in mourning over the events of the day. They had, indeed, fallen thickly. Captain Monck, of the 7th, after felling a Russian near him, was shot dead by another; Lord Chewton was severely wounded; Captain Drew fell while serving one of the batteries; and in all the regiments which had been most warmly engaged, the ratio of officers killed or wounded was seriously large. The *London Gazette*

of the 8th of October contained the names of all the officers killed and wounded; while that of the 17th was crowded with columns of names, those of non-commissioned officers and privates; and never, perhaps, were gazettes more keenly perused by those who, hoping almost against hope, ran the eye down the columns with a wish that a cherished name might *not* be there. The first return contained the names of 26 officers killed, and 76 wounded; the second comprised 327 non-commissioned officers and men killed, and 1557 wounded or missing—a total of 353 of all ranks killed, and 1633 wounded. To this list, however, must be added those, many in number, who died subsequently of wounds received on this day. The inequality of loss among the different divisions was very striking, showing in what different degrees they had been exposed to danger during those three fatal hours; the light division, with which Sir George Brown crossed the river, and ascended the hill under such a murderous fire, had no less than 967 brave fellows struck down, either killed or wounded; the 2nd division, 498; and the 1st division, 439; while the 3rd, the 4th, and the cavalry divisions, the engineers, and the artillery, had less than 100 killed and wounded altogether. The 7th, 19th, 23rd, 33rd, 77th, and 88th regiments, together with the second battalion of Rifle Brigade, forming unitedly the light division, suffered unequally among themselves, according to the particular points at which they were called upon to bear the awful storm of ball and bullet; the 7th, 19th, 23rd, and 33rd, each lost more than 200 of its number—a fearful gap; the 77th, 88th, and Rifles, suffered less severely.

The following is a list of officers killed at the battle of the Alma:—Lieut. Abercrombie, 93rd; Lieut. Butler, 23rd Fusiliers; Lieut. Cardew, 19th; Lieut-Colonel Chester, 23rd Fusiliers; Lieut. Cockell, Royal Artillery; Capt. Conolly, 23rd; Capt. Cust, Coldstream Guards; Capt. Drew, Royal Artillery; Capt. Dowdall, 95th; Capt. Eddington, and his brother, Lieut. Ed-

dington, fell together, both of the 95th; Capt. Evans, 23rd Fusiliers; Lieut. Knowsley, 95th; Lieut. Luxmore, 30th; Lieut. Montague, 33rd; Capt. Monck, 7th Fusiliers; Lieut. Polhill, 95th; Major Rose, 55th; Lieut. Radcliffe, 23rd Fusiliers; Capt. Schaw, 55th; Ensign Stockwell, 19th; Lieut. Walsham, Royal Artilley; Capt. Wynn, 23rd Fusiliers; Lieut. Young, 23rd. The following died of their wounds soon after the battle:—Viscount Chewton, Captain in the Scots Fusilier Guards: Major Hare, 7th Fusiliers; Lieut. Colonel Haly, 80th regiment. Lieut. Irwine, 13th, and five or six other officers, died of cholera, shortly after their arrival in the Crimea.

The Russian accounts of the Battle of the Alma were all couched in such a manner as to attempt to lessen the disgrace of the Russian arms as much as possible; the government organ, the *Journal de St. Petersburg*, asserting that the fighting-men on the side of Russia, only amounted to 33,000, whilst those of the Allies numbered 70,000. Menschicoff had boasted, a short time before the battle, that he could hold his position on the Alma for three weeks against an army of 100,000; but the Allies drove him and his forces from that position in three hours! Marshal St. Arnaud estimated the loss of the Russians at from 5000 to 6000 men. The carriage belonging to Prince Menschikoff was captured, containing documents of some importance.

During the time which intervened between the 20th to the 24th, the Russians retreated towards Sebastopol, which they entered on the 21st, and Menschikoff immediately ordered the execution of some very important alterations in and around Sebastopol. The land defences were very materially strengthened; many additional guns mounted; and the fortifications were rendered more impregnable to any force that might be brought against them. Besides these precautions, another astounding manœuvre was executed, namely, the sinking of a fine fleet of seven ships-of-war in the har-

bour of Sebastopol, in order to prevent another fleet from entering. This fleet consisted of one ship of 120 guns, two of 14, two of 80, and two of 40. Unexampled as the proceedure was, it was most effectual in the object contemplated; for this barrier prevented any vessels from entering. After these plans had been carried out, Menschikoff and a great portion of his forces left Sebastopol, crossed the Tchernaya, advancing over Inkerman bridge, and moved towards Baktchéserai, about twenty-four miles north-east of Sebastopol, as a means of checking the advance of the Allies towards the centre of the Crimea, and as a means, also, of commanding the high road from Simferopol, by which important route all supplies were brought from the mainland.

This movement also, as stated in a despatch, had three other objects, namely, to obtain provisions which were on the road from Perekop to Simferopol; to obtain reinforcements from Kertch under Khomoutoff; and to attack the English and French on their rear and left flank, in the event of their march to the north-side of Sebastopol.

These items of information, picked up from various sources, reached St. Arnaud and Raglan in due course, and had the effect of modifying very considerably the plans of the generals. In the first instance, the southward march was resumed, from the Alma to the Katcha, with an intent to approach the northern side of Sebastopol; a deviation from this manœuvre was not contemplated until a day or two afterwards.

After the terrible battle on the 20th, the French were ready to move before the English—as was the case, indeed, in most of the operations, on account of the imperfect organisation of many departments in the British army. The French removed all their wounded to the ships in a few hours, and St Arnaud proposed to march the next day: this, however, Lord Raglan declined, on account, probably, of the lamentable deficiency

in his means of providing for the wounded. It is difficult to estimate the value of the two momentous days thus lost; had the Allies proceeded at once to Sebastopol, the whole aspect of the campaign might have been changed; and if the French chafed a little at the inaction thus forced upon them by their ally, they might justly be pardoned. On the evening of the 20th, on the whole of the 21st and 22d, were the British—bandsmen, soldiers who had not been much engaged during the fight, sailors, and marines—employed in burying dead British and Russians, and in conveying wounded British and Russians down to the beach; and even then, distressing as it must have been to the kind heart of Lord Raglan, numbers of wounded Russians were left behind on the hills—the necessity for marching being now extreme. The surgeons worked night and day, amputating shattered limbs and binding up wounds. The wounds were such as are only to be seen on a battle-field. One of the surgeons, writing concerning the "pluck" of the British soldiers at Alma, said: "They laugh at pain, and will scarcely submit to die. It is perfectly marvellous—this triumph of mind over body. If a limb were torn off or crushed at home, you would have them brought in fainting, and in a state of dreadful collapse; here they come with a dangling arm, or a riddled elbow, and it's 'Now, doctor, be quick, if you please—I am not done for so bad but I can get away back and see!' And many of these brave fellows, with a lump of tow wrung out of cold water wrapped round their stumps, crawled to the rear of the fight, and with shells bursting round them, and balls tearing up sods at their feet, watched the progress of the battle. I tell you this as a solemn truth, that I took off the foot of an officer, Captain ——, who insisted on being helped on his horse again, and declared that he could fight now that his 'foot was dressed!'" The surgeons attended the Russians, too, on the 21st; but 700 of these miserable relics of Menschikoff's army still remained where they had fallen, and where they

had lain sixty long hours, the victims of unspeakable suffering and privation. Lord Raglan humanely rendered these poor fellows all the aid he possibly could under the circumstances.

On the 24th of September, Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud determined on their flank movement from the Katcha and the Belbeck to Balaklava. On the same day, Prince Menschikoff had resolved on his flank movement from Sebastopol to Baktchéserai. It was perhaps the most remarkable day for strategy throughout the war; each army being ignorant of the movements of the other; each attempted to frustrate the supposed plans of the other; and each would necessarily cross the path of the other at some point near Kutor Mackenzie, or Mackenzie's Farm. This plan of the Allied commanders was adopted on considering the difficulty or impossibility of procuring the indispensable supplies by way of the Katcha or the Belbeck.

Admiral Hamelin, however, attributes this change in the route of the Allies from the north side of Sebastopol to the south side of that town, to the circumstance of the sunken ships in the harbour of Sebastopol. In a despatch, he further says, "the generals-in-chief decided upon turning Sebastopol by the east, and throwing themselves upon the south of the town, after they had placed themselves in communication with the fleets at Balaklava, and obtained provisions and munitions." Whether advantageous or not in other respects, and apart from the boldness and brilliancy which characterised the manœuvre, there can be little doubt that this flank-movement was in a manner forced upon the Allied commanders by the defensive Russian arrangements at the mouth of the Belbeck and at Sebastopol.

On the morning of the 24th the Allies were strengthened by the arrival of the Scots Greys and an infantry regiment, also by 9000 French; all of whom had been landed at the mouth of the Katcha. About

mid-day, the march began, under the heat of a scorching sun; crossing the Belbeck by a small bridge, about four miles from the sea; and, on reaching the southern bank, and ascending the hill, the officers could espy, with the aid of their glasses, that city which had during so many months occupied men's thoughts—Sebastopol; the houses and windows being distinctly visible. Near this bridge the armies encamped for the night, some on the hills, some in the hollows between the hills, and the officers in the village.

The 25th was a day to be remembered by all in the army, for it was a day of much difficulty and fatigue. The distance from the Belbeck to Balaklava is but fourteen miles; but the troops had to pass through a thick forest or jungle; and every officer and soldier had to tell how this daring scramble was effected. Had the Russians been aware of the situation of the Allied troops at this time, it would have been a disastrous day to the Anglo-French army; for the regiments were scattered and intermixed in an apparently inextricable mass of confusion: each man threading a path as he best could, and many thousand infantry emerged from the jungle about two o'clock.

It was at this time that occurred the most extraordinary incident in this extraordinary march. Lord Raglan rode at the head of the British army, the French and Turks being at some distance on the flank. He was one of the first to emerge from the wood upon the high road, and suddenly found himself close to a portion of the Russian army! The two lines had intersected. The opponent commanders had commenced their flank-marches nearly at the same time: Menschikoff having the start by a few hours—the Allies south-east from Belbeck towards Balaklava, the Russians north-east from Sebastopol towards Simferopol: each planned a flank-march, which was really cleverly conceived; each was entirely ignorant of the other's movements; each took Mackenzie's Farm in the line of route; and the two encountered at this spot. Not

on equal terms, however, for the van of the British came upon the rear of the Russians; and although the surprise was perhaps equal on both sides, the terror was on the part of the Russians, who had been greatly dispirited by the battle of the Alma, and who had formed an exaggerated estimate of the strength of the Allies. A few cavalry only, Scots Greys and others, were near Lord Raglan at the time; yet did the Russians, entirely ignorant of the extent of the force thus suddenly coming upon them, lose all presence of mind. The British brought a few guns, a squadron or two, and a battalion of Rifles, to bear on the spot; a volley and a charge followed; and the Russians, after a brief stand, rushed pell-mell along the road to Simferopol, leaving everything behind that might have impeded their flight, and strewing the road for two or three miles with waggons, carts, tumbrils, provisions, ammunition, the military-chest, baggage, officers' uniforms, personal ornaments, and a countless array of miscellaneous articles. Some portions of this captured booty were placed under guard by Lord Raglan's orders, but much also was left as a prize to the men—a prize which not a little pleased them as a relief from the laborious work of this day. "Our gunners," said one of the artillery officers, "got hold of the baggage of some general officer and his staff, for they were soon laden with embroidered hussar jackets, pelisses, and garments of various kinds! they also got a quantity of jewellery and watches; and some, more lucky than the rest, got hold of the general's luncheon-basket, and feasted on wild-boar, washed down with champagne."

As the stragglers came up, by dozens or twenties, a halt was made for an hour or two, on the heights near Mackenzie's Farm. This farm is about six miles in a straight line from Belbeck Bridge, whence the flank-march had commenced; and another straight line of four miles marks the distance from the farm to the Tchernaya, on the way to Balaklava; but the real

distances traversed by the troops were much greater, and the necessity for a little mid-day repose became evident. From time to time, the right flank of the army approached so near the eastern end of Sebastopol, that the red-coats must unquestionably have been seen from the houses and public buildings; yet not the smallest attempt was made to check the march. From evidence afterwards obtained, it appears certain that the town contained few troops; troops and inhabitants were alike in a terror-stricken state; and it remains a fair problem, whether the Allies might not, on the night of the 25th or the early morn of the 26th, have forced the few defences at the upper end of the harbour, and entered Sebastopol. With the uncertain knowledge possessed by the Allies at that time, however, concerning the movements of Menschikoff, and with a natural anxiety to establish a line of communication with the fleet, such a venture was not made; Balaklava, and not Sebastopol, was the goal towards which all eyes were on that day turned. When the men had rested for awhile on the heights, Lord Raglan resumed his march, taking the steep winding road from the farm down to the Tchernaya. On the banks of that river he rested for the night; he and his officers being so completely separated from their baggage, which was far in the rear, that a dry ditch served as a bed for many of them. During the night, the baggage and stores arrived, as well as the 4th division, which had been left behind during a few hours as a rear-guard. On this day, and indeed ever since leaving the Alma, officers and men had been heavily laden. One officer wrote: "Each man carries everything he possesses. We are allowed no tents and no baggage-waggons; so you may imagine the difficulty and delay in moving an army of this description. At the end of a march, each man is glad to hunt for wood, fill his little water-barrel—every officer and man carries one—cook his rations, lie down as near the bivouac-fire as he can, and get to sleep till daylight, should he be for-

tunate enough not to be for picket." And in relation to the fourteen hours' incessant exertion on the memorable 25th, the same officer described the position of himself and his men when their water-barrels were emptied before the Tchernaya was reached. The whole truth is conveyed in these few words: "I would gladly have given my last guinea for a drink of pure water that afternoon."

On Tuesday, the 26th of September, the British army arrived from Tchernaya Bridge at BALAKLAVA —a place which on that day acquired a European reputation, and which was never afterwards to be forgotten, either by soldiers or readers. The route between the two places was nearly south-west, generally on an ascent, and at an average distance of six or seven miles from Sebastopol. The French adopted a more circuitous route, and did not reach the heights southward of Sebastopol until the following day, having encamped on the Mackenzie heights during the night.

About this time, two events, or, more properly, a rumour and an event occurred, which caused much sensation—the one, the reported capture of Sebastopol, transmitted by electric telegraph from Varna. London and many other parts of England were in a feverish state of excitement; and many towns manifested their delight by ringing of bells, music, and other joyous demonstrations. The report stated that the Russians had lost 18,000 men in killed and wounded; 22,000 prisoners; Fort Constantine was destroyed; and other forts, mounting 200 guns taken; and six sail-of-the-line were sunk. This was a mere stock-jobbing fraud upon the public, and caused much indignation when the deception was discovered.

The other event—the death of Marshal St. Arnaud —was no idle rumour; it was a stern reality, occurring immediately after the flank-march to which the Allied generals attached so much importance. Born in Paris, in 1801, St. Arnaud was yet in the middle

of life; but he had seen much rough service. He entered the Gardes du Corps at the age of fifteen; and next served as a sub-lieutenant in the line. After a few years' absence from the army, he re-entered it in 1831, first as a sub-lieutenant, and then as lieutenant. He was engaged under Marshal Bugeaud in various duties during the early years of Louis Philippe's reign. The year 1836 took him to Algiers, where his reputation was chiefly established. As a captain, he distinguished himself at the siege of Constantina, for which he was rewarded with the decoration of the Legion of Honour. After engaging in many battles, he was placed, in 1840, in command of the 18th regiment of infantry; which he left some time afterwards to join the Zouaves. He was further raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in 1842, colonel in 1844, and major-general in 1847, and incessantly occupied in military duties of various kinds. In 1850, he attained the high position of commandant of the province of Constantina, where he was engaged in a hot contest with the Kabyles. Returning to France the following year, after fifteen years' service in Africa, he was appointed to a command in the army of Paris. Being among the small number of distinguished generals who aided Prince Louis Napoleon to overthrow the French republic, and to become the Emperor Napoleon III., St. Arnaud naturally rose in high favour at court; he was made Minister of War, then Marshal of France, then Senator, and then Commander-in-chief of the French army in the East.

Such was Marshal St. Arnaud, who, on the 29th of September, sank under accumulated bodily sufferings, just at the moment when the Allies began to perceive that a formal siege of Sebastopol would be necessary. The declining state of his health had long been known; indeed, when he left Paris to join the army in the East his strength was already broken; and during the autumnal months, his life was one continued struggle against fate. His death occurred on the 29th, near

Balaklava. His body was sent on board the *Berthollet* to Constantinople, where it was embalmed at the residence of the French embassy; and on the 11th of October, the *Berthollet* ended her melancholy duty by landing the remains of the deceased marshal at Marseilles. Madame St. Arnaud, who had resided at Constantinople during the expedition to Varna and the Crimea, returned to France in the same ship that contained the dead body of her husband. After a solemn service had been performed in the cathedral at Marseilles, the body was transmitted to Paris, where, on the 16th, a military funeral on an imposing scale was performed: the body being interred in a vault in the Chapel of the Invalides. Thus terminated the career of one who, a roving actor and wild adventurer in his youth, afterwards showed many of the qualities of an energetic military commander.

General Canrobert, on whom the command of the French before Sebastopol devolved, was a favourite in the army. Born in 1809, and entering the army early, he embarked for Africa in 1835, with the rank of lieutenant. He was speedily engaged against Abd-el-Kader; then in the expedition to Mascara; and then in various other services, which gained for him the rank of captain in 1837. He joined the Duc de Nemours and General Damrémont in an expedition to Constantina in that year, during which he was wounded. Returning to France in 1839, he received the decoration of the Legion of Honour, and an accession of rank. Another period of service in Africa then awaited him; from 1840 to 1850, he was engaged in an incessant scene of warfare in every part of Algeria, serving under Cavaignac and other generals, and executing many achievements requiring courage and address. In 1850, he came once again to France, receiving decorative honours, the rank of general of brigade, and various duties connected with the armies of France. In 1853, he became general of division; and in 1854 he was appointed one of the generals under St. Arnaud in the

war in the East. Raised to an onerous command at the age of forty-six, Canrobert briefly addressed his soldiers at the period of St. Arnaud's death, and then set himself earnestly to the study of the arduous work before him.

In describing the town and fortifications of Sebastopol, this peculiarity presents itself—that the description must be in the past tense. The bombardment by the Allies before the capture, the cannonade by the Russians from the northern side when the southern was held by the Allies, and the systematic destruction which followed, almost extinguished Sebastopol from the list of towns; while the Russian defences, enlarged incessantly during the siege, imparted to the fortifications almost a wholly new character. The best way, therefore, to render the details of the siege intelligible, will be first to describe the town and the fortifications as they existed shortly before the war, when additional defences had not yet been commenced. Taking the descriptions from several eye-witnesses, we may be able to form a judgment concerning the arrangement and appearance of Sebastopol in the years 1853—4.

Two years ago the place was scarcely fortified at all on the land-side, and was commanded by the adjacent heights; but the hills nearest to the town have since been partly levelled, and the earth used to fill up the intervening hollows. On the ground thus prepared, a circular wall has been traced out, commencing at the citadel, which arises behind the quarantine station. This wall is a work of much importance, but whether it is as strongly constructed as it should be, and fortified with towers and lunettes, is somewhat doubtful. It has been run up very hastily, but as forty thousand men are said to have been incessantly employed in its construction, it is possible that it may be more formidable than the hurried manner of its erection would seem to imply.

Viewed from the sea, the fortifications of Sebastopol present a very formidable appearance. Cape Constan-

tine is defended by a battery of seventeen guns; it is just below the telegraph post, to the right of Fort Constantine, which juts into the sea, and has 104 guns mounted. On the same side of the harbour are two other batteries, mounting respectively eighty and thirty-four guns; and on the heights above, connected with Fort Constantine by a military road, is the citadel, the strength of which in guns is not known.

On the right is the quarantine battery, mounting fifty-one guns, so disposed that, while the fire of some can be directed across the mouth of the harbour, so as to intersect the line which the shot from Fort Constantine would describe, that of others would completely command the inlet on the shore of which the quarantine station is situated. The next headland is defended by a battery of sixty-four guns, the fire of which would cross that from Fort Constantine in one direction, and that from the quarantine battery in another. Nearer the town is another battery of fifty guns, while the entrance of the inner harbour, on the other side of the town, is defended by a formidable fort, mounting no less than 192 pieces of cannon. This is called Fort St. Nicholas, and the fire from its quadruple tiers of guns is crossed by that of Fort St. Paul, on the opposite point. On the side of the inner harbour, defended by the last-named fort, is the suburb, inhabited by the artificers employed in the docks, &c., and there also is the marine hospital. The total number of guns mounted is calculated at 1870, but if those composing the flying batteries are counted, the aggregate will be increased to little less than two thousand.

In the construction of these batteries the system of casemates has been adopted, but the solidity of the works is very much questioned by military engineers. The cost of these fortifications to the Russian government has been estimated at 150,000,000 francs, or about £7,291,666.

That Sebastopol is a place of great strength there can be but little doubt; and if the numerous forts are

as strong as they appear to be—a point concerning which strong doubts exist in the minds of competent military men—it may even be considered as impregnable as any fortified place can be said to be. The term must always be accepted with a certain degree of reservation, for no place can be said to be truly impregnable; the fact of a place never having been taken is no proof of it impregnability, as the Spaniards found at Gibraltar, and the French at Louisburg. This may be the case with Sebastopol, especially if the walls are no better constructed than were those of the long fort at Bomarsund. It is the opinion of experienced engineers that, however impregnable the place may be by sea, it might be reduced by a sufficient land force with a facility that would astonish the imperial nerves. In spite of the partial levelling of the heights, Sebastopol is still commanded by rocky hills, to the removal of which there are insuperable obstacles, and on which the position of an intrenched camp for an attacking force may be traced out by nature. It is true that from the sea, neither the inner harbour, nor the masts of the vessels lying at anchor in it, can be seen, on account of the position being too much below the cliffs along the coast; but when the siege works shall have been carried towards the right, the harbour may be raked by cannon along its entire extent.

Various opinions, similar to the above, were indulged in by persons who had either been eye-witnesses of the place, or gathered their knowledge from perusing the writings of others. The justness or fallacy of these opinions was proved by the result of the operations of the Allied forces.

When Lord Raglan arrived with his army on the heights above Balaklava, on the 26th, he expected little opposition in that quarter; but, as a measure of precaution, he sent on the Rifles to crown the heights, and arranged other battalions in commanding positions. On one of the heights was a small post of little value, an old ruined Genoese castle, that was soon taken by

the artillery and the Rifles; but before this capture, Lord Raglan had a narrow escape from a shell discharged by the garrison. The villages of Kadikoï and Balaklava, the one on a small river two or three miles from the harbour, and the other on the eastern shore of the harbour itself, were taken and occupied; and the heights being now also occupied, the British had secured a wholly new base of operations. A narrow defile constitutes the only approach to the harbour on the land-side; a small force of the enemy stationed here might have proved a formidable obstruction to the British; but the Russians, not expecting an attack in this quarter, had left the defile undefended. Lord Raglan entered the village about noon; the inhabitants presented to him fruit, flowers, bread, and salt; and he assured them they were safe from molestation. Small as the harbour is, the waters are deep, and the *Agamemnon* steamed in safely. Lord Raglan joyfully greeted Sir Edmund Lyons, who had arrived by sea; for a position had been now attained where the supplies from the fleet were immediately in the rear of the armies requiring that service.

Lord Raglan despatched a message to Admiral Dundas by Sir Edmund Lyons, who immediately brought the whole of the steam-squadron, headed by the *Agamemnon*, and accompanied by several transports carrying siege guns, which arrived in the evening of the 26th off Balaklava, doubling Cape Chersonese. 1000 marines were sent round in the *Agamemnon*, to take the place of the same number of soldiers, employed in guarding the heights that overlook the little harbour.

Busy were the hours and days at Balaklava. Ships found ingress and egress by a gap so narrow, that careful handling was necessary to prevent collisions; and these ships brought supplies of various kinds, not only from the main fleet at the Katcha, but from Constantinople and other depôts. The largest and longest steamers could not enter, on account of the tortuous

direction of the mouth: they anchored outside, while the smaller steamers and transports entered the harbour. The tents for the army were among the first articles landed; during ten or twelve days the soldiers had obtained but little covering at night, little shelter from rain, cold, and wind; and many a poor fellow was cut off by the sickness thus engendered. The landing of the siege-artillery was more formidable work; for Balaklava, being a mere village, had no quay worthy of the name, and hence the difficulties were serious in disembarking guns of great magnitude and weight: they were lowered from the ships into barges provided with a kind of drawbridge; artillerymen and seamen aiding in this labour, and strings of horses being then employed in dragging the guns up to the heights forming the plateau between Balaklava and Sebastopol. About sixty heavy guns of the siege-train were thus successively landed. Among the reinforcements which, together with supplies, arrived during the first few days, were the 4th and 6th regiments of dragoons; but it was speedily found that the medical department was defective in strength: many men fell daily under the influence of cholera, and medicines were too few for the wants of the surgeons, who were themselves also too few in number.

By the 30th, all the heavy guns having been "parked" or collected on the heights above Balaklava, the time had arrived for arranging the march towards Sebastopol, and the selection of ground for head-quarters, divisional quarters, depôts, &c. On the 2d of October, the advance was made and the positions taken up; the six divisions of the army being disposed in conformity with the general plan whereon the siege was to be conducted; and posts of sentinels, pickets, vedettes, &c., established to watch the movements of the enemy. When the soldiers were thus removed from Balaklava, the 1000 marines pitched their camp on the hills bounding the harbour, made a road and cut some intrenchments; the position was easily defended by musketry,

and prevented any attack by the Russians on the ships in the harbour. A naval brigade or division was also formed, under Captain Lushington of the *Albion*; and the sailors, about 1000 in number, displayed great alacrity and delight in pulling up their guns to the heights, being well disposed towards any tactics which would afford them a scene of excitement and of possible glory. The position taken up by the head quarters of the army was about half-way between Sebastopol and Balaklava, three to four miles from each in a straight line; but the advanced posts were much nearer the enemy, and received many a shot from the larger guns at Sebastopol.

Meanwhile, the French had been landing their supplies and siege-material at another part of the peninsula, west instead of south of Sebastopol. As the harbour at Balaklava, with all its advantages, can accommodate only a small fleet at once, General Canrobert soon decided on adopting a landing-place elsewhere; he selected the two bays near Cape Chersonese, generally called Kamiesch and Arrow Bays, between Sebastopol and that Cape. The French quickly formed a landing-place in Kamiesch Bay, established a little town or cantonment on the beach, landed their artillery and stores, despatched their regiments up to the heights, and commenced their arrangements for the attack of the formidable stronghold. The 3d and 4th divisions, under General Forey, were charged with the duty of besieging the left or west side of Sebastopol; while the 1st and 2d divisions, under General Bosquet, were formed into a corps of observation, to occupy the positions commanding the Valley of the Tchernaya, and to protect the siege operations against any attempt on the part of the enemy coming from the interior of the Crimea. The Turkish division, it was agreed, should form a reserve for either of these two French corps, as circumstances might render desirable. The landing having commenced at Kamiesch on the 30th of September, the advanced French pickets came, on

the 1st of October, within 400 yards of the Cossack vedettes outside Sebastopol. On the next day, the 4th Division took up a position about two miles from the town, its left resting on the coast at Arrow Bay, its right on a point about two miles further south, and its front commanding the west and south-west sides of Sebastopol. On the 3d of the month, siege-material continued to be landed in large quantity, while the generals and engineers made many and careful observations on the movements and defences of Sebastopol; thirty large guns from the ships were landed, to be worked by Captain Rigand; and 1000 soldiers were formed into a naval brigade, similar to that on the English side. On the 4th, the third division took up its place to the [illegible] of the fourth, and extending thence to a great [illegible]vine which runs down to the inner harbour of Sebastopol; and on many successive days, stores of all kinds were landed at Kamiesch, and carried up to the siege-camp.

During this time, Menschikoff was not idle; having by his spies ascertained that the north side of Sebastopol was free from danger, he immediately set about strengthening the south-side. He obtained the assistance of a very clever engineer, named Todtleben, a young man who had risen from a low grade to a post of eminence, on account of his superior genius.

Sebastopol having no defensive wall of any account, it was left for Menschikoff and Todtleben to construct such towers, forts, redoubts, batteries, or lines of fortified trenches and ramparts, as might repel the Allies, or at least delay the capture. None of the great forts situated on the harbour commanded the southern land-side; hence new works had to be constructed. From the battery near Artillery Bay, a crenellated wall, or wall loopholed for musketry, was constructed, following the steep of the hill to the plateau, where it joined a large round tower or fort, mounting twenty guns on the platform, and surrounded by a battery at a lower level. Under the cannon of this round fort was a large

fortified barrack, flanked and armed by several strong works. From this fort, a line of defence was constructed entirely round the south and east of the town, to the spot where the Careening Bay enters the harbour; making the whole circuit of defence, from Artillery Bay to Careening Bay, nearly five miles in extent, including sinuosities. This was not a perfect military wall or rampart, but a sort of ridge about three feet in thickness, with a ditch in front, the earth from which was thrown outwards, so form a glacis between the besiegers and besieged. The wall, if it may so be called, was not broad enough for cannon; but on those points where, in a regular fortification, bastions would have been constructed, Todtleben threw up platforms whereon heavy guns could be mounted, to fire over the wall, many of which were the guns taken from the ships in the harbour. The centre of the line was defended by a large fort, raised on a high point at the upper or southern end of the town. The names Flagstaff Battery, Garden Battery, Barrack Battery, Great Redan, Little Redan, Mamelon Fort, Malakoff Fort—some belonging to a later period in the history of the siege—were all applied to works constructed in consequence of the commencement of the siege itself, and on various elevated spots outside of the town, and in most cases exterior to the "lines" of trench and rampart.

The Allied position gradually assumed a definite character during the month of October, dependent in part on the defensive arrangements made by the Russians. The entire camp occupied a plateau six miles in length by four in breadth; but the siege-works of course grouped themselves near the town to be attacked. The plateau, bounded by an abrupt descent on the east, was defended along this edge by a breastwork, or earthwork breast-high, constructed by the French nearly from Balaklava to Inkermann, with batteries, redoubts, and redans, to defend the more assailable points—the last named of these, *redans*, being

earthworks forming two sides of a triangle, like one tooth of a saw. This line of defence was intended to guard the plateau from an attack by the Russians on the east. The northern edge of the plateau, not much above the level of the highest part of the town, has several spurs, or hilly knolls, jutting out north-west towards the Karabelnaia or eastern half of the town; and on these spurs the English constructed their breaching-batteries, while the French constructed their approaches and parallels on the south-west of the main part of the town. Between the spurs are gorges or ravines, running down towards the harbour. Various batteries were constructed by the British, none at a less distance than two-thirds of a mile from the town. In rear of the batteries, beginning on the right or north-east, was the 2d division, then the 1st, the light, the 3d, and the 4th, in order, each occupying such a position as should render its services most available when the siege commenced, or to repel any sortie of the garrison. Between the English and French positions was the longest and deepest of many ravines, running down to the inner harbour; and westward of this were the French batteries, not perched upon spurs between gorges, but occupying a plain almost on a level with the highest part of the town. The English approaches, zigzags, and parallels, were directed towards the forts that defended the Karabelnaia; whereas the French approached gradually nearer and nearer to the main streets of Sebastopol, on the other side of the inner harbour.

The difficulty of dragging the heavy siege-guns up to the heights from Balaklava and Kamiesch, and of digging the trenches in very hard soil, retarded the progress of the siege, and afforded Todtleben time to construct his defensive works. The French established their first parallel on the 10th of October, at a distance of 700 or 800 yards from the place; while their allies were compelled to commence at a greater distance, on account of the obstacles afforded by the site.

The trench-work proceeded vigorously during the second week of the month. On one particular evening, after sunset, 2400 French took up a position in line, in front of the fortress, set to work with pick and shovel, and by daylight the next morning had dug a trench three-quarters of a mile in length, at a distance of about 1000 yards from the forts; the Russians, to their astonishment, saw a ditch, parapet, and banquette, where nothing had been visible on the preceding evening. Each French soldier dug and guarded in turn; and as each had about twenty inches of length entrusted to him to excavate, the whole number were enabled to accomplish this extensive work during the night; at a subsequent period, gabions and fascines were brought up, to face and strengthen the embrasures of this parapet, ready for the reception of a long row of guns. Such was the general plan on which the approaches were made by both armies: working-parties would go out in the dusk of the evening, and form as much trench, parapet, and banquette as could be accomplished during the night; returning to camp at daylight—wearied, cold, sleepy, hungry, and perhaps stricken with the beginnings of ague, cholera, or fever. The pickets, under the charge of a colonel or captain, were sometimes more trying than the trenches; since the men, throughout a night which might be piercingly cold or incessantly stormy, had no relief from the duty of keeping watch in the silent darkness, ever on the alert against the possible approach of an enemy.

The Russians showed themselves worthy defenders of the place; they not only worked night and day to strengthen the lines and forts, but they poured out shot, shell, and bullet against all the men and batteries which the Allies brought within range. This torrent kept the besiegers ever watchful, and occasioned much loss. Sometimes a 56, or even an 80-pounder would plunge down into and plough up the earth within a yard or two of an officer's tent, or would even pierce

then tent itself, and carry off some of the simple chattels with which it was furnished. To kill the men, to dislodge the guns planted upon the earthen batteries, to crumble the batteries themselves into fragments—all were objects aimed at by this firing from the garrison; and the nearer the approach of the besiegers, the more perilous became their position on account of the fire. The firing was mostly during the day; but when the Russians could guess at the position of the working-parties, it continued during the night also, maintaining a roar that rendered it difficult for officers or men to snatch a few hours' sleep.

Day after day passed, marked—on the part of the Russians—by the reception of reinforcements, the steady construction of new works, and the outpouring of shot and musketry against the besiegers; and on the part of the Allies, by the landing of men and stores at Balaklava and Kamiesch, the dragging of the heavy guns up to the heights, the formation of trenches, parapets, and earthen batteries, the mounting of these parapets and batteries with heavy guns and mortars, and the encamping of the three armies—English, French, and Turkish—in convenient positions behind the lines and batteries. All this time passed without any firing on the part of the Allies; the commanders decided that no cannonading should commence until all was prepared for a formidable bombardment; and thus it happened that, during the first half of the month of October, the besiegers were the attacked party rather than the attacking—greatly to the astonishment of those who, at a distance from the scene of operations, and imperfectly acquainted with the arrangements necessary for a siege, longed impatiently for news of ramparts battered down, forts destroyed, breaches stormed, the fortress entered, and the flags of the victors floating over the captured town.

CHAPTER VIII.

Manœuvres of the Fleets—Bombardment of Sebastopol—Battle of Balaklava—The Two Battles of Inkermann—Storm in the Crimea, etc.

The English and French nations, auguring from the success attending the Allied forces at the battle of the Alma, imagined that the progress of the troops was to be one continued series of uninterrupted triumphs, and consequently became very impatient. The newspapers endeavoured to allay the anxiety and impatience of the people by representing the formidable nature of the work the Allies had to perform; but few had any idea that the Siege of Sebastopol, which was now about to commence, would be protracted to ten or eleven months, ere the Allies could enter this stronghold of the Russian power. The sanguinary contests, however, at Balaklava and Inkermann, which will be narrated in this chapter, were sufficient, one would imagine, to satisfy the most voracious appetite for slaughter and bloodshed; and served, for a time, to pacify the grumblers, who were comfortably enjoying their ease and luxuries at their own firesides.

We have, in the last chapter, brought the operations of the Allies to the point of getting a portion of the fortifications and batteries into something like order, preparatory to the bombarding of the city; we will now briefly allude to the manœuvres of the naval portion of the armament.

Two or three minor operations by portions of the fleets had been performed during the flank march of the army—minor we mean as to their immediate effects—but still of such importance as to convince

the Russians that they had no contemptible foe to contend with.

Sebastopol, however—the great Sebastopol—was the object yearned for, the place towards which the thoughts of the admirals and seamen were chiefly directed. Occasionally, during the first two weeks in October, a steamer would approach to reconnoitre; or an audacious little gun-boat, proud of its one gun, would fire away at Forts Constantine or Alexander, to try the effect of iron against stone at a distance of a mile and a half or two miles. Admiral Dundas, in a despatch to the Admiralty, dated the 13th of October, stated that Sir Edmund Lyons continued to be busily occupied with the steam-squadron, assisting the British army at Balaklava; that Admiral Bruat, with a French squadron, was aiding the French in their position at Kamiesch and Arrow Bays; that the *Sidon*, *Inflexible*, *Cacique*, and *Caton*, were off Odessa, preventing any communication by sea with the Crimea; and that the principal sailing-vessels of both fleets, under Admirals Dundas and Hamelin, were anchored off the mouth of the Katcha. Four days after this, the great bombardment commenced.

On the 16th, the night before the bombardment, a boat was sent in with muffled oars, to examine two shoals near Forts Constantine and Alexander; the boat rounded the shoals, and approached so near the forts that the sailors could overhear conversation: two small Russian steamers were outside the line of sunken vessels; but the crews either did not see the boat or mistook it for a Russian. The boat-party ascertained that the small water-spaces left between the sunken vessels and the forts were too uncertain in depth to allow great ships to enter; and it became evident, as had long been suspected, that the fleets could effect little in the actual capture of the forts; they could only co-operate by creating a diversion in favour of the land-forces, and helping to reduce the place if the land-besiegers should be successful.

Morning dawned on the 17th of October, amid tremendous preparations for bombarding Sebastopol. The land-cannonade was to begin about six o'clock; and, at the urgent request of Lord Raglan and General Canrobert, the admirals agreed that the whole of the ships should assist the land-attack by engaging the sea-batteries north and south of the harbour, on a line across the port. In accordance with this arrangement, the magnificent fleets took up positions opposite the forts and batteries. The great sailing men-of-war were lashed to smaller steamers, as a means of moving more readily from place to place; but the crew of each steamer regarded its bulky neighbour as an incubus, which retarded its own movements, and lessened the probability of obtaining a shot at the enemy. Meanwhile, the French had not been idle. Admiral Hamelin went from the Katcha to Kamiesch, in the *Mogador*, on the 13th; had an interview with Canrobert on the 14th; and arranged the plan of naval attack with Dundas on the 15th. According to this plan, the French fleet was to be placed southward of the harbour, at seven cables' length from the cliff, to operate against the Quarantine, Alexander, and Artillery forts or batteries; whilst the English were to be similarly engaged opposite the northern forts; and the Turks to anchor midway between the two. The magnificent array of ships thus drawn up, broadsides on toward the forts of Sebastopol, was little less than two miles and a half in extent, from Wasp Battery on the north to the Bay of Cherson.

Few were the sentences in which the admirals described the events of the 17th in their despatches. Admiral Dundas, after naming the ships and explaining the intended plan of attack, dismissed the naval bombardment itself in the following few words:—"The action lasted from about half-past one to half-past six P.M., when, being quite dark, the ships hauled off." Admiral Hamelin described the operations somewhat more fully. "On the morning of the 17th," he said, "the at-

tack by the siege-batteries commenced; but, as the weather was calm, it was necessary to attach the ships-of-the-line to the steam-frigates before developing against Sebastopol the line of the twenty-six ships of the Allied squadrons. Nevertheless, in spite of this difficulty, and the seperation which had taken place between the ships of the Allied squadrons, a part of which had anchored at Kamiesch, and part before the Katcha, I have the satisfaction to announce that the ships of our first line advanced about half-past twelve in the day under fire of the batteries of Sebastopol, which they stood against at first during more than half an hour without replying. A few minutes afterwards, they replied vigorously to the fire, which did not fail to incommode them, from their small number. Afterwards, the other French and English vessels successively arrived, and the attack became general. Towards half-past two o'clock, the fire of the Russian batteries slackened; it was stopped at the Quarantine Battery. This was the exact object desired by the French squadron, but our firing was redoubled and continued without interruption till night. At the time I am writing, I am not aware of what was the success of our siege-batteries, whose fire had commenced before ours, and which attacked the Russian fortifications on the land-side. If the Russians had not closed the entrance to Sebastopol by sinking their ships, I do not doubt that the vessels of the squadrons, after the first fire, would have been able successfully to enter the port, and place themselves in communication with the army. Perhaps they would not have lost many more men in doing this than we have now to regret; but the extreme measure which the enemy adopted of sacrificing a portion of his ships, forced us to confine ourselves to attacking for five hours the sea-batteries of Sebastopol, with the object of silencing them more or less, of occupying a great many men of the garrison at the guns, and of giving thus to our army, material as well as moral assistance."

When night closed in and put an end to the firing, and when the morning of the 18th enabled the crews to look around them, it was found that the Russians had been severe opponents to deal with. The *Agamemnon* received sixteen shots near the water-line, but none had gone through; several had penetrated the main and lower decks; the masts, sails, and rigging, were perforated in all directions; the main-sail had been three times on fire. The *Albion* and the *Arethusa* suffered severly; when anchored before the Wasp Battery, the cables by which they were lashed to the steamers were cut by shot, and they became unmanageable just when facility of movement was most desirable; the *Albion*, after being set on fire three times by the fierce cannonade from the battery, was on the point of getting on shore, when the *Cambria* steamer ran in and extricated her, suffering fearfully from deaths and wounds among her crew; the *Arethusa* was hulled in all directions by shot. The *Rodney*, lashed to the *Spiteful* steamer, went on shore close under the fort about dusk, and would there have been lost but for the assistance rendered by the *Orinoco*; through an unlucky mistake, this ship threw a shell that burst against the main-mast of the *Retribution* and the *Trafalgar* lashed to it. The *Sanspareil* and *Bellerophon* also received some rough usage. But when the crews were counted up, the loss was found to be more serious than any which the injuries to the ships entailed. Admiral Dundas's despatch told of 44 killed and 266 wounded in the British portion of the fleet; twenty-one vessels shared in this loss, whereof the *Albion* and the *Sanspareil* bore, the former 10 killed and 71 wounded, and the latter 11 killed and 59 wounded. The *Agamemnon*, owing probably to the fine steaming qualities of the ship and the masterly way in which she was handled, had only 4 killed and 26 wounded, although this was the vessel in which the greatest interest of the day's proceedings centered. The French had a fair share in the activity and loss. The *Charle-*

magne and the *Ville de Paris* were hotly engaged, giving and receiving shot during many hours; and Admiral Hamelin, in the latter-named ship, had a narrow escape; for a shell, bursting on the stern, shattered the poop to fragments, and killed one and wounded three of the four aides-de-camp who were by the admiral's side. The total loss of the French in killed and wounded was little less than that of their Allies.

And now the all-absorbing inquiry arose whether any of the forts had succumbed to the terrible missiles which had been hurled against them; and whether Sebastopol had suffered much from a bombardment by sea? The answer to this important inquiry was anything but satisfactory to the Admirals and the fleet; for apparently little injury had been sustained by the besieged. A few words contained in a letter written on board the *Sampson*, tell in a simple way of the trifling injury received by the forts from the cannonade, and of the mingled surprise and disappointment evidently felt by the cannonaders: "Our liners were not close enough in, and therefore their shot did not tell with full force. The *Sampson* stationed herself right opposite a square fort mounting eight guns, and did her work by silencing it three times, knocking some good pieces out of it; but the worst of it was that, not being able to take possession of it, as soon as we turned our attention and guns to some other point, the fellows came running down into it again, and re-opened fire on us." The "fellows" did indeed bravely defend Sebastopol, as our soldiers as well as seamen full well knew.

We will now allude to the military operations connected with the bombardment.

The great day arrived—the day on which many hopes were entertained that Sebastopol might fall. Instructions were issued by Lord Raglan on the previous evening for the guidance of the siege train, and the army divisions. The principal points dwelt upon were the following:—That the cannonade would com-

mence at half-past six in the morning, indicated by a discharge of three mortars; that all troops off duty would be ready for any immediate service in their respective camps, without knapsacks, great coats, or blankets; that horses would be attached to the field-batteries, to move the field-guns, if required; that each division would be provided with a body of sappers, supplied with picks, shovels, crow-bars, sledge-hammers, felling axes, scaling-ladders, and bags of powder, in the event of any assault being attempted; that each division would also have a corps of engineers provided with rockets and gun-spikes; that reserved musket-ammunition would be placed at ready disposal of the infantry divisions; and that the cavalry, together with all the regiments placed near Balaklava, would be ready for action in any immediate need.

At the appointed hour on the morning of the 17th, the bombardment began—such a bombardment as the annals of war had seldom equalled. The troops of all the nations—British, French, Turkish, Russians—and non-combatants who were within sight and hearing—all appear to have been vividly impressed with the tremendous outburst. Lieutenant-colonel Hamley says: "The silence was broken by such a peal of artillery as has scarcely ever before, in the most famous battles or sieges, shaken the earth around the combatants. One hundred and twenty-six pieces, many of them of the largest calibre, opened at once upon the Russian defences, and were answered by a still larger number, of equal range and power. The din was so incessant, and the smoke in the batteries so dense, that after a few rounds the gunners laid their pieces rather by the line on the platform than by view of the object aimed at." Lieutenant Peard, who had been ordered into the trenches at four o'clock on that morning, to unmask the guns by opening the embrasures, speaks thus: "At daylight, the guns in the British batteries, and in the French, presented their muzzles to the enemy. At 6. 30 A.M., our batteries opened fire, which was as sharp-

ly responded to by the Russians. It was now three weeks since we had been before Sebastopol, and it is impossible to say how relieved we were to be able to answer their fire. Our guns were loaded and fired as fast as it was possible to do it. The fire from the enemy was beyond all conception; and their shell and shot were accompanied with canister-shot, which, skimming the parapet, and coming through the embrasures, made a most unpleasant whizzing."

Lord Raglan, in a despatch sent to the government, at this time, said: "On this occasion, we employed about sixty guns of different calibres, the lightest being 24-pounders. It may here be proper to observe, that the character of the position which the enemy occupied on the south side of Sebastopol is not that of a fortress, but rather that of an army in an intrenched camp on very strong ground, where an apparently unlimited number of heavy guns, amply provided with gunners and ammunition, are mounted. The guns having opened as above stated (about a quarter after seven), a continuous and well-directed fire was carried on from the works of the two armies until about ten o'clock A.M., when unfortunately, a magazine in the midst of the French batteries exploded, and occasioned considerable damage to the works, and, I fear, many casualties, and almost paralysed the efforts of the French artillery for the day. The British batteries, however, manned by sailors from the fleet, under the command of Captain Lushington and Captain Peel, and by the Royal Artillery, under the superintendence of Lieutenant-colonel Gambier, kept up their fire with unremitting energy throughout the day, to my own and the general satisfaction, as well as to the admiration of the French army, who were witnesses of their gallant and persevering exertions: materially injuring the enemy's works, and silencing the heavy guns on the top of the loophole (Malakoff) tower, and many of the guns at its base, and causing an extensive explosion in the rear of a strong redoubt in our immediate front. The

enemy, notwithstanding, answered to the last from a number of guns along their more extended line."

When night closed in, and the gunners retired wearily from their work, the Allies could not conceal from themselves that the results were unsatisfactory. Hopes had mounted high during many days. Some authorities had pronounced that the Russian batteries would be silenced in three days; while others limited the time to a few hours. Many parts of the Russian works, it is true, were injured; the Malakoff Tower was deeply scarred by the heavy 68-pounder shot, and many of its guns dismounted, although at a range of more than 2000 yards; a magazine was fired in the rear of the Redan by a shell, and many guns silenced thereby; and all the defence-works were shaken and scarred by the tremendous force brought against them. Still, the damage was of small amount, considering that the works were mostly of earth, and that Sebastopol contained a large number of men wholly at the disposal of Menschikoff. Those Russians who, whether soldiers or civilians, had not worked severely during the day, were set to repair the parapets and embrasures at night; insomuch that, when morning dawned, the Allies had the mortification of finding that the battering of the preceding day had left the Russians little the worse. Prince Menschikoff, in his despatch to the czar, stated that in one of his forts nearly all the guns, thirty-two in number, had been dismounted; that Fort Constantine had been much damaged by the ships; but that most of the other forts had suffered slightly. He estimated his loss at about 500 killed and wounded; among whom General Kornileff was killed, and Admiral Nachimoff and Captain Yerganyscheff wounded.

The progress of the siege, from the first day onward, was governed by the circumstance that Sebastopol was never *invested*. In most other sieges the town is generally surrounded by the besiegers: but in this case, the available force of the Allies was too small, and the circuit of the place too large, for this desirable object

to be accomplished. The southern side of the harbour was only invested; leaving the formidable forts on the north unassailed, and the roads from Simferopol and Eupatoria free for the passage of supplies.

The incidents of the siege to the end of October were not distinguished by any important result; sometimes the besiegers made some apparently decided hits; then in turn, the besieged effected some trifling advantage; but nothing of moment occurred.

A few brief passages from familiar letters, written by officers engaged, and afterwards published, will suffice to convey a notion of the state of the Russian works at that time, of the picket-duty on the part of the British, and of the trench-duty. After adverting to the supposed disappointment of friends in England at the protracted duration of the siege, one officer thus speaks of the state of the town: "We can knock the civilian part of the town to pieces; but the great difficulty is to get at the dockyards, arsenals, &c., which are completely protected from straight shooting by the high cliffs of the harbour; they, therefore, can only be reached by shells and rockets. Thus, in long range, it is very difficult to fire at exactly the right elevation; consequently we pitch almost as many shells into the harbour as we do into the stores. Again, I suspect all their roofs are bomb-proof, as we have not succeeded in setting them on fire to any great extent, although there have been almost nightly blazes of small huts, &c., in the outskirts. It must ultimately be taken by assault, and, therefore, the sooner that takes place the better. We have had a great many deserters, and they all agree in declaring that the streets are strewed with dead; and they add, that as soon as resistance becomes useless, the troops will all go over to the other side, where they have immensely strong batteries, which, together with Fort Constantine, completely overlook the southern shores, and will, I suspect, prevent us from holding the place long." Next comes the English side of the field of struggle. "I am on picket,

This is a duty that begins at four in the morning, and ends at four the next morning. Each regiment furnishes two companies of pickets daily; therefore it takes place every fourth day. A picket is an advanced guard thrown out close to the enemy's lines, in order to protect the camp from a surprise; consequently the sentries can see each other, and we can see large masses of Russians manœuvring in the hollow all day. We command, from our position, a road which is a short-cut for the enemy into Sebastopol; and, as they often try to dodge past our sentries, hardly a day passes that we have not a brush with the enemy." A Zouave in a French rifle-pit furnishes another phase of outpost-duty. "I am almost like a poacher. I go out every day to shoot Russians. This is the way we do. As early as two o'clock in the morning, our toilet being completed—and that of a Zouave is not long—we leave, carrying with us ammunition and one or two biscuits. Arrived in the intrenchments, we take sand-bags, a spade, and a pickaxe; then, at a given signal, we leap from the parapets with the rapidity of deer, and establish our homes close to the forts. There we dig a hole, a sort of warren, to hide ourselves in. We place our sand-bags to protect us, and our residence is then furnished. We remain in these pits all the day, and it is not until night is rather advanced that we are permitted to leave them. This we often do in the midst of a shower of grape-shot. You will ask me what we do in the pits all day. Very good work, I assure you. We fire almost as fast as we can, and every discharge demolishes a Russian artilleryman." The trench-duty had its own peculiar severities: "We have five batteries, and these require a large armed guard and fatigue-party day and night—a fatigue-party to keep the works in repair after the enemy's fire, and a guard to defend them from sorties. This is the most dangerous of our recreations, and not a day passes that two or three fatal cases do not occur. At night, they shell us incessantly from the forts; but night-shells are

not so dangerous as in the day, because we can always track their fiery course for half a minute through the air. * * * Sometimes, after lying on the wet ground all night, my limbs are all pains, and my teeth quite loose in my gums." When the same officer congratulates himself on having been "lucky enough" to purchase two flannel-shirts for £2, and a tooth-brush for 8s., he just touched the beginnings of that terrible winter, the incidents of which will be mentioned in the next chapter.

The Allied generals had reason to believe that while they were busily engaged in the siege, Prince Menschikoff was feeling his way round by a winding road along by the Tchernaya from Sebastopol, by the Traktir Bridge from Baktchéserai, hoping to attack his opponents in the rear of their camps and siege-works. Sometimes the flashes of the guns at night would render dimly visible a dark battalion of Russian infantry, moving at a distance that portended no immediate danger, but indicating the existence of some plan or scheme. On another occasion, an alarm having been given that the Russians were marching to attack the rear on the Balaklava road, Lord Raglan and his staff, with a body of troops, moved in that direction, and found that the Russians had taken advantage of a bog to creep up to the vicinity of the Turkish redoubts, but that their number had not been so large as to endanger the position occupied by the Turks. On another morning, signals having been given by the vedettes that Russian infantry were approaching, the Scots Greys and other cavalry, with the horse-artillery and the 93d Highlanders, quickly made ready for an encounter; and the Turks fired from their redoubts on small bodies of the enemy within sight: but the Russians, not calculating on so much alertness, retreated for the night. The next day witnessed a similar approach of Russian cavalry, a similar alertness on the part of Sir Colin Campbell and his Highlanders, and a similar retreat of the enemy as the evening drew on.

A body of cavalry would post itself on the Baktchéserai road, perhaps accompanied by artillery, and would then wind out of sight behind the hills. This matters continued day by day; until at length, on the morning of the 25th of October, General Liprandi appeared openly on the plain, having drawn from the defiles and behind the hills an army of 30,000 Russians, ready to meet the Allies in fair fight.

The incidents of this eventful day, varied and frequently confused as they may appear, resolve themselves into five struggles or contests, forming collectively the BATTLE OF BALAKLAVA—namely, the capture by Russian infantry of a series of earthen redoubts, manned by the Turks, the heroic repulse, by the 93d Highlanders, of a furious cavalry charge; the defeat, by the British cavalry, of a much larger body of Russian cavalry; the mistaken but wonderful onslaught, by a handful of British Light Cavalry, against a complete army of artillery, cavalry, and infantry; and a dashing charge of the Chasseurs d'Afrique, which finished the work of the day, and left the Allies victors—although with such a modification of defence-works as afforded Menschikoff a pretext for claiming, in his despatch to the Czar, a brilliant victory.

Balaklava was defended by a line of earthen redoubts covering the crests of the hills in its front; the right resting on high cliffs, covered by our marines, and the left on the elevated plain, held and fortified by two French divisions. The redoubts before Balaklava were armed with heavy guns—32-pound howitzers and 18-pounders belonging to the English artillery train. The guns were manned by our artillerymen, supported by companies of Turks. At ten o'clock on the morning of the 25th of October, the Russians having massed in force in the vale leading up towards the east, on the right of our position, advanced at considerable speed to the redoubt on their extreme left, and assailed the Turks with the bayonet. Our artillery had scarcely time to fire one round when the Turks were seized with a

sudden panic, and, throwing away their pieces and packs, ran down the declivity to Balaklava.

As the Russians advanced, the panic increased; and, when it came to close quarters, there was a general run. The wretched Turks swarmed down the hill like bees; and our artillerymen, seeing the rout, spiked the guns and retired. The Turks in the other redoubts, finding that their comrades on the right had fled, took the alarm, and the whole of them were in a few minutes, running out of the redoubts, abandoning our guns and artillerymen to their fate. This disgraceful flight took place, when no enemy was threatening, except cavalry, which, witnessing the route of our allies, instantly followed in pursuit, and were observed in a few moments, crowning the height and occupying the whole line of our forts. Happily, the guns in all the works had been spiked, and the enemy were not able to fire into us with our own artillery. The Russians lined the crests in time to see the 93rd Highlanders deployed in line on our right, and the Heavy and Light Brigades drawing up in order to the left, on the very ground where they had struck their tents. Their astonishment must have been considerable to see the 93rd pour in a volley at the flying Turks, to prevent them from running. Elated by their success, and seeing our cavalry and the 93rd below, immoveable, two regiments of Hussars, the Weimarski and Leuchtenborgski, charged down the slope, at the Highlanders, with a tremendous cheer. On they came, at the top of their speed, as if to annihilate everything. The Highlanders, however, headed by their gallant Colonel (Ainslie), disdained to form into square to receive them, but poured in a sharp fire at fifty yards, which made them sheer off to their right. As they turned, they found themselves in front of our Heavy Cavalry Brigade, which, after a pause, they charged with considerable vigour. They were met by a squadron of Scots Greys, headed by Colonel Griffith, and by a squadron of the Enniskillings, headed by Colonel White. A tremendous

hand-to-hand conflict was the instant result. The thick woollen cloaks of the Russians, being admirably calculated to ward off steel, deadened at first the effect of our blows. But our men attacked the head instead of the limbs, and several of the enemy were laid in the dust. Colonel White, in the first shock, received a tremendous blow, which cut through his helmet, but did him no injury. The number of the enemy being greater than ours, they had by this time considerably outflanked us. The Hussars, who had been followed by numerous Cossacks, were beginning to attack us on both flanks, as well as in front, when Major Scute gave the word to his squadron of Enniskillingers; the Royals moved at the same moment; and the enemy, being overlapped in his turn, began to flag, and commenced a retreat. This they did under cover of some field-pieces moved up by the Russians to the crest, but not without damage from our artillery, which now advanced to the front, and from our guns in position before Katichioi. The last charge of British cavalry in the battles of Europe was called the charge of the National Brigade, because it was furnished by the Royals, Enniskillings, and Scots Greys. The first charge of our cavalry in the Crimea was made by the National Brigade, and resulted in considerable loss to the enemy. Upwards of thirty men and horses remained killed or wounded on the field; but the numbers who retired wounded cannot be counted, the Russians having the habit of strapping themselves to their saddles, that their horses may carry them out of action when they are wounded. All the men who fell with their horses were found to have been thus buckled. As the cavalry moved on in pursuit of the enemy, the ground had the strangest aspect imaginable. The tents had been struck at the signal of alarm, but no time was given to pack them. They lay on the ground with the kits of the men and baggage of the officers, and in the midst of these lay dead men and wounded, whilst a skulking Turk or Greek might be seen here and there turning

up the effects with a view to plunder. Many valuables were unfortunately lost in this way. Would that this had been the only disaster to record during the day.

As our cavalry moved on, supported by our artillery, the enemy retired from the redoubts on our left, and held their ground in two of those on our extreme right. The 93rd remained in line before Katichioi, and the infantry from divisions in front of Sebastopol, were observed coming down. Several companies from the 1st battalion of the Rifle Brigade moved up, and having taken possession of the centre redoubt abandoned by the enemy, advanced beyond in skirmishing order. The Third Division, under Sir G. Cathcart, followed; and whilst a wing of the 20th occupied the ditch of the redoubt, the other wing lay down behind, with the 63rd, 57th, and 68th behind them, and the rest of the division in the rear. The Guards, under the Duke of Cambridge, were placed so as to cover the road to Balaklava. Whilst these movements were going on, two regiments of French Chasseurs d'Afrique moved down from the heights, and took up a position on our left, amidst tremendous cheers. The position of the Russians and Allies at this time formed almost a parallelogram. Our infantry and guns occupied one side; and at right angles with them were the French Chasseurs and our Heavy Brigade of Cavalry. The Russians occupied with artillery and infantry a line of heights parallel to that which we occupied, whilst their masses of infantry and cavalry fronted the French Chasseurs. The Russians, however, had the additional advantage of holding two of our intrenched redoubts. They were thus enabled to pour in a destructive fire upon us from right, left, and front.

At the moment when the contending parties occupied these positions Captain Nolan was observed galloping up to Lord Lucan, who headed the Light Brigade of Cavalry. He was the bearer of an order from Lord Raglan to charge the enemy. It is not

known whether any discretion was left to Lord Lucan to obey or disobey, nor is it even certainly known what was the exact wording of the order; but, at the signal of command, the Light Brigade, which was posted on the left of the redoubt occupied by General Cathcart's division, was observed to move. The 17th Lancers led with 150 sabres, the 11th followed with 150, the 4th with 140, the 13th with 100, and the 8th with 100 sabres. Right at the enemy's guns the devoted column started with Lord Cardigan at its head. Trot, canter, gallop—on they rushed in the midst of a most dreadful fire. A field-battery, on the heights of the Russian right, decimated them; whilst another fire, equally terrific, spread destruction through them, from the guns on the Russian left; and a third mowed them down in front. It was a fearful sight to behold our brave fellows falling in fifties to the ground, most of them to rise no more; others, dismounted, rushing to the horses of their dead comrades, and following up; whilst others, again, endeavoured to limp back through the fire of the enemy. On, however, the Light Brigade proceeded, like lightning; Lord Cardigan was the first man at the enemy's guns. Down went the gunners at their sides as our men rushed at them: not one, save those who fled at the onset, remained alive. Fourteen guns were, for a moment, in our possession. But the Russian cavalry was on them; they cut in between the guns and the Light Brigade, and it became time to retreat. The 11th and 4th covered the 17th, the 8th, and the 13th. Lord Cardigan charged back through the Russian Lancers with his two regiments, and the enemy opened to let them pass; but a file fire from numerous Russian squares kept up a quick and deadly discharge of Minié balls, whilst the triple fire of the enemy's cannon continued to overwhelm them with showers of shell and shrapnell. Fortunately for the shattered remnant of this brigade, the French Chasseures d'Afrique had charged up the heights on the Russian right, and caused the artillery there to re-

tire. One squadron advanced right up, and into a Russian square, which had not entirely formed; the Adjutant-Major was killed in the centre of the square; and another officer, with fifteen men, were laid low. The Light Brigade rallied behind the Scots Greys, Enniskillings, Royals, and the rest of the Heavy Brigade. It was fearfully diminished in numbers. Of the 11th, there were hardly 40 men safe; of the 17th, barely the same number; of the 13th, 34; of the 4th, 39; and of the 9th, but a handful. Captain Nolan, who brought the fearful order, was the first man who fell; he had not gone 200 yards before he was shot through the heart. A ball ripped off the top of Lord W. Paulett's cap, and took the head off Charteris, Lord Lucan's Aide-de-Camp. Of the 13th, Captains Goade and Oldham, and Lieut. Montgomery, were killed. Of the 17th, Captain Winter was killed, Morris and Webb severely wounded, Chadwick and Thompson missing, Captain White shot through the leg. Cornet Wombwell, who had been taken prisoner after being dismounted, was rescued, as well as Morris, by the home charge of the 11th. Of this, Lord Cardigan's own regiment, Houghton and Trevelyan were wounded, the latter through the leg; Lockwood missing; and Colonel Douglas was only saved from a rifle shot by the revolver at his side. The lead alighted on one of the nipples, which exploded the barrel of the pistol, which did no harm. Captain Maxse, Lord Cardigan's Aide-de-Camp, was wounded slightly in the foot by the bursting of a shell in the beginning of the charge. There was a grim pause as the shattered Light Brigade re-appeared. The firing ceased, and was not resumed during the rest of the day. Both sides remained observing each other till evening, when Lord Raglan ordered the whole of the redoubts still in our possession to be evacuated. The Russians maintained themselves in the position they had taken, having gained possession of seven guns. Such is the faithful description of the attack on Balaklava and its

losses. The Russians may have suffered to the extent of 200 men; on our side, no less than 500 men, killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, filled the list of casualties.

The following graphic description is given of the Light Cavalry Charge:—"The whole brigade scarcely made one effective regiment, according to the numbers of the Continental armies; and yet it was more than we could spare. As they passed towards the front, the Russians opened on them from the guns in the redoubt on the right, with volleys of musketry and rifles. They swept proudly past, glittering in the morning sun in all the pride and splendour of war. We could scarcely believe the evidence of our senses. Surely that handful of men are not going to charge an army in position? Alas! it was but too true—their desperate valour knew no bounds; and far indeed was it removed from its so-called better part—discretion. They advanced in two lines, quickening their pace as they closed towards the enemy. A more fearful spectacle was never witnessed than by those who, without the power to aid, beheld their heroic countrymen rushing to the arms of death. At the distance of 1200 yards the whole line of the enemy belched forth, from thirty iron mouths, a flood of smoke and flame, through which hissed the deadly balls. Their flight was marked by instant gaps in our ranks, by dead men and horses, by steeds flying wounded or riderless across the plain. The first line is broken—it is joined by the second—they never halt or check their speed an instant; with diminished ranks, thinned by those thirty guns, which the Russians had laid with the most deadly accuracy, with a halo of flashing steel above their heads, and with a cheer which was many a noble fellow's death-cry, they flew into the smoke of the batteries, but ere they were lost from view, the plain was strewn with their bodies and with the carcasses of horses. They were exposed to an oblique fire from the batteries on the hills on both sides, as well as to a

direct fire of musketry. Through the clouds of smoke we could see their sabres flashing as they rode up to the guns and dashed between them, cutting down the gunners as they stood. We saw them riding through the guns, as I have said; to our delight we saw them returning, after breaking through a column of Russian infantry, and scattering them like chaff—when the flank fire of the battery on the hill swept them down, scattered and broken as they were. Wounded men and dismounted troopers flying towards us told the sad tale—demigods could not have done what we had failed to do. At the very moment when they were about to retreat, an enormous mass of Lancers was hurled on their flank. Colonel Shewell, of the 8th Hussars, saw the danger, and rode his few men straight at them, cutting his way through with fearful loss. The other regiments turned and engaged in a desperate encounter. With courage too great almost for credence, they were breaking their way through the columns which enveloped them, when there took place an act of atrocity without parallel in the modern warfare or civilised nations. The Russian gunners, when the storm of cavalry passed, returned to their guns. They saw their own cavalry mingled with the troopers who had just ridden over them, and, to the eternal disgrace of the Russian name, the miscreants poured a murderous volley of grape and canister on the mass of struggling men and horses, mingling friend and foe in one common ruin. It was as much as our Heavy Cavalry Brigade could do to cover the retreat of the miserable remnant of that band of heroes as they returned to the place they had so lately quitted in all the pride of life. At 11,35 not a British soldier, except the dead and the dying, was left in front of these terrible Muscovite guns."

Equally thrilling is the description of the heroic Charge of the Heavy Brigade:—"The Russian cavalry, about 4000 in number, rapidly advanced with the evident intention to attack our cavalry. No sooner

was this perceived, than the bugle sounded the advance for our men, who instantly moved forward at a canter. As they approached the enemy, and began to ascend the hill, the canter merged into a charge, and the pace was terrific. The Scots Greys and the Enniskillings went right at the Russian centre. For a moment it was a glorious sight. The glittering helmets and weapons and varied uniforms of our fellows as they pressed forward to the charge, with sabres raised and lances levelled, made the mere spectacle beautiful; but, accompanied with all its terrors, it was one of most awful grandeur. The solid earth shook and reverberated with a sound like thunder, as a thousand horses spurred to their utmost speed, went tearing up the hill, scattering the turf and grass like a cloud of sand behind them. The enemy were nothing loth to accept the challenge, and, indeed, they had little reason, for their numbers were as nearly three to one. In a line of two-thirds of a mile they swept down from the hill upon our men, meeting them about half way up. The dull heavy noise with which they closed could be heard at the distance of a mile, and made the listener's blood run cold.

"With the first shock, about a hundred men and horses instantly fell; and both sides seemed to recoil and clutch their weapons closer for a deadly hand-to-hand combat. In another moment there was nothing to be seen but a confused crowd of Hussars, Cossacks, Scots Greys, and Lancers, who were shooting, cutting, and stabbing at one another in all directions. It was impossible to say which did best, for the dust, smoke, and confusion were too great to permit anything like accuracy of observation; but it was quite evident both fought well, for neither gave way, though the bodies of men and horses cumbered the ground. After a minute's contest, part of the Greys drew off for a few yards, and turning at a gallop made a desperate attempt to break the Russian line; they were almost successful at the first onset, and the 17th, imitating

the example, levelled their lances, and charging for a few yards, made an awful gap in the enemy's ranks. To crush these attempts before they had time to be successful, the Russian line, which, from their immense superiority of number completely outflanked ours on both sides, tried, by wheeling round, to inclose our gallant Greys; but before the manœuvre could be effected, the supporting regiments of the Heavy Brigade, the First Dragoon Guards and Sixth Enniskillings, came down like a thunderbolt upon the Russian flanks. The charge was well timed and well executed, and attended with complete success. The light wheeling Cossacks disappeared like snow before the charge of our Dragoons; the Hussars broke up in disorder, and in another instant the Dragoon Guards, Greys, and Enniskillings were among them, sabring and pistoling right and left. Unlike our regiments, the Russians, while disordered, made no attempt to rally. The instant their line was broken, they scattered and fled like hares to the top of the hill and across the high road, closely harassed in the rear by our men. Unfortunately they were unable to continue the pursuit, from the proximity of the Russian batteries; and the instant our cavalry halted, the Russians halted also, and commenced re-forming their line (still twice as numerous as ours), in order to renew the contest; our men in the meantime were compelled to withdraw under cover of the hill, as while exposed on the heights and high road, the cannonade of the enemy told severely among them. After an interval of ten minutes, during which the Russians poured a perfect shower of shot and shell into our lines, and during which also the long wished-for reinforcements from the intrenched camp were discerned coming up to our assistance, the enemy's cavalry again advanced to the attack. This time they came in with a battery of Horse Artillery; and, after a severe cannonade of a few minutes upon our men, again descended the valley, and advanced to the charge. The whole of our Heavy

Cavalry in one strong line met them on this occasion. There was the same desperate charge, the same shock, but not the same fighting. After a minute's resistance, the enemy's whole line gave way, and retired in confusion towards the heights. On this, the Russian cavalry General—who, to do him but bare justice, conducted himself with undoubted skill and bravery throughout the day—halted the flying squadrons, and persuaded them to stand again and face our men, who were within ten yards in hot pursuit. The contest was, therefore, for a moment, renewed on the heights. But the struggle lasted only for a few minutes; the remnants of the Light Cavalry came up in proper time; and the ferocity with which they dashed into the enemy's flanks carried all before them. The Russians again broke and fled; but, this time, our men were among them strewing the plain with carcasses. To save themselves from the slaughterous attack, the Russians sought shelter under the batteries in that fatal valley where our Light Cavalry had suffered so severely. Two or three troops of our horse imprudently followed in pursuit close up, and were terribly mauled by the batteries as they retired."

When the day's sanguinary work was ended, it was found that the cavalry—as may be inferred from the nature of the attacks—had suffered more severely than the infantry. There were about 40 cavalry and artillery officers killed or wounded, together with 400 non-commissioned officers and privates, and nearly as many horses. The infantry loss was trifling. Menschikoff acknowledged to a loss of 300 Russian infantry, without naming the numbers in cavalry.

List of officers, killed or missing, at the Battle of Balaklava:—Hon. W. Charteris, Capt. G. Lockwood, staff; Lieut. A. Sparke, 4th Light Dragoons; Lieut. J. C. Viscount Fitzgibbon, Cornet G. Clowes, 8th Hussars; Capt. J. A. Oldham, Capt. T. H. Goad, Capt. H. Montgomery, 13th Light Dragoons; Capt. J. P. Winter, Lieut. J. H. Thompson, Cornet and Adjutant

J. Chadwick, 17th Lancers; Capt. S. Childers, Artillery; Capt. L. C. Nolan, 88th regiment. There were 27 officers wounded; some severely, others slightly.

Such was the Battle of Balaklava. It became speedily evident that some misconception had led to the light cavalry charge. Lord Raglan, scrupulously avoiding all occasions of disagreement, passed the matter lightly over in his despatch, in these words: "From some misconception of the instruction to advance, the lieutenant-general considered that he was bound to attack at all hazards; and he, accordingly, ordered Major-general the Earl of Cardigan to move forward with the light brigade." It did not escape notice, however, that while praising the officers of the light brigade, the commander withheld praise from the Earl of Lucan. Time passed; the subject was much discussed at the camp; and at length the London newspapers containing Lord Raglan's despatch reached the army. The Earl of Lucan, still retaining his position as chief of the cavalry, then addressed a long letter to Lord Raglan, which at a later date was read before the House of Lords and printed in the debates. After complaining of the serious nature of the "misconception" attributed to him, the earl gave an account of the transaction. Whether or not any correspondence immediately followed the writing of this letter, it became afterwards fully evident that each officer retained his own opinion, and that an estrangement existed between them as long as the earl remained at the camp. Lord Raglan deemed the letter one that ought not to have been addressed to him, and recommended its withdrawal: the earl declined; whereupon the commander wrote home to the Minister of War, inclosing a copy of the earl's letter, and giving such a version of the transaction as appeared to Lord Raglan to be correct. This imparted a more serious aspect to the discussion; for Lord Raglan now dwelt upon *two* misconceptions, instead of merely one, which he had to attribute to the earl. Taking the

two consecutive orders into consideration, and the periods of the battle at which they issued, it appears to have been Lord Raglan's intention that the cavalry should aid in regaining the heights surmounted by the redoubts taken from the Turks, or, in default of this, to prevent the Russians from carrying off the guns from the redoubts. In what sense the earl understood these instructions, his own letter explains. Whether Captain Nolan rightly interpreted and rightly conveyed the message intrusted to him, can never be known: he fell gallantly in the charge that followed. The Earl of Lucan, addressing the House of Lords on the subject, made a comment which seems to show that a mere verbal error may in part have occasioned the sad misconception. Speaking of Lord Raglan's first order, he said: "The order put into my hands was: 'The cavalry to advance, and take advantage of any opportunity to recover the heights. They will be supported by infantry, which had been ordered. Advance on two fronts.' The original order did not say 'to advance;' but it is possible that the word 'to' may have been inserted by mistake in the copy which I furnished to Lord Raglan, and I therefore wish to impute nothing to his lordship with respect to it. There was a full stop after the word 'ordered,' there was no 'to,' and there was a large 'A' to 'advance.' It would have made a great difference if 'to' had been inserted and 'advance' had commenced with a small 'a,' so as to make the whole one sentence. But the sentence, 'Advance on two fronts,' stood by itself." If a small error like this led to the calamity, the occurrence is, perhaps, still more to be regretted.

The earl, feeling more and more severely the position in which he was placed, demanded a court-martial, that the whole subject might be investigated: this demand was refused by Lord Hardinge, the commander-in-chief, with the sanction of the government; and the House of Lords showed a disinclination to permit lengthened discussions on the matter during its sittings.

The newspapers then became the vehicles of communications, together with pamphlets, and even volumes: and during many months a vehement, and often acrimonious, contest was kept up between the advocates on different sides. The controversy was never satisfactorily closed. It was never clearly shown whether the blame was distributable between Lord Raglan, General Airey, Captain Nolan, and the Earl of Lucan, or in what proportions: or whether the earl and the captain, or the earl only, were responsible for the error. All that the nation knew was—that two-thirds of the numbers in a gallant body of men were struck down in attempting to achieve something, they knew not what, against a force that rendered success almost impossible.

Exciting and startling events now rapidly succeeded each other in the Crimea; for scarcely had one portion of the Allied army at Balaklava been permitted to sheath their swords after a most sanguinary conflict on the 25th of October, than another portion on the Heights of Sebastopol, on the following day, were called upon to bear the brunt of a formidable host of Russians, maddened by religious enthusiasm and drink. This encounter was preparatory to the more formidable one which occurred a few days afterwards; and therefore we may justly style these affairs as the Two BATTLES OF INKERMANN. An eye-witness thus describes the attack on the 26th:—

"This day, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the Russians advanced to the attack of our positions in front of Sebastopol, and were repulsed with loss. The boldness of the enemy in advancing to force our right—which they did with 8000 men and 32 guns—is explained by the following circumstance:—On the 25th (after the affair at Balaklava) special messengers were sent into Sebastopol with the exaggerated tidings of a great victory gained over the English. Our troops in the trenches heard the tremendous cheer which was sent forth by the garrison of Sebastopol when it re-

ceived the intelligence. Yesterday the troops were all drawn out to hear a general order read, detailing the losses of the enemy, the capture of its positions and guns, and the annihilation of its cavalry. A prayer of thanksgiving and "Te Deum" were then solemnly chanted in the great church; and, after a distribution of extra grog to the troops, they became so enthusiastic, that the Russian general took advantage of the moment to make an attack upon the right of our positions. The Russians moved up on our right along the road which leads towards the Inkermann ruins; and, turning off to their right, they ascended the heights near which was encamped the Second Division, under Sir de Lacy Evans. The hill which they ascended is called Shell-hill by our men, who have always met with a warm reception there whenever they showed themselves above a small ruin on its summit, which serves as a protection to our pickets. To our left of the ruin, a strong force is usually in observation. To our right an equally strong party lines a stone intrenchment, erected across the road, which winds down towards Sebastopol; and further on, a fourth picket covers a spur over-hanging the road on the other side. The Russians advanced in three columns of 1500 men each, and drove in the small picket in the ruins. They deployed to the right and left; and, whilst their right moved down into the dip on our side of Shell-hill, their left stretched down, crossed the Sebastopol road, and endeavoured to turn our position by getting round the spur which covers the camp of Sir de Lacy Evans' division. Their advance was made with great confidence and in good order; but our pickets behaved admirably; they retired in complete order, firing through the intervals with such regularity and precision that the Russians were loth to advance any but skirmishers; and two hours were spent before the grand attack came on. There is no record, I believe, of pickets, amounting in all to five companies, keeping an enemy of such force at bay for so long a time; and it

is therefore with a feeling of pride that we record the admirable conduct of Captain Conolly of the 49th, the clever resistance of Captain Atcherley of the 30th, at the ruins, and that of Major Champion of the 95th, on our right. Captain Conolly had fought manfully for a considerable time, when a few of the enemy closed in upon him, and he defended himself with his sword in one hand and his telescope in the other, until he was rescued; unfortunately at that moment he was shot through the side by a conical ball, and fell badly wounded.

"In the meanwhile the division had been speedily moved out and covered its pickets. The 30th marched out to the right with the 95th, whilst Captains Turner and York's batteries moved to a position above the enemy on our right, and the 55th supported them. General Adams's brigade moved forward on the left, toward the ruins; the 41st, 47th, 49th, taking commanding positions. The Russians advanced with considerable vigour, and in good order, to the attack, under cover of their guns. They seemed, however, to have had considerable difficulty in moving their artillery, for they could only get five of their guns into play, and these were so mauled in a few minutes, by our batteries, that they ceased firing, and were withdrawn. This was the moment when the Russians began to waver; they quailed before the fire of our men, and as we advanced upon them, they gave way, retiring in disorder over the scrubby ground which they had taken up. Their masses at the moment offered a deadly aim to our Artillery, which poured in volleys of grape and shells into them, and committed tremendous havoc. Their disorder increased, and then a general pursuit commenced. General Pennefather's brigade followed them over the hills, in their headlong flight, almost down to the trenches of Sebastopol, from whence it made its way back under the old familiar fire of Inkermann Lighthouse, and a stream with which every man in Sir de Lacy Evans's division is well acquaint-

ed. The Lancaster gun on the right of Gordon's attack could not miss so fine an opportunity, but sent shell right into the retreating Russians with immense execution.

"The loss of the Russians in this affair was 500 killed and wounded; and we may say, without exaggeration, that we had all our own way during the time the affair lasted. Our loss only amounted to seventy men killed and wounded. We took sixty-nine prisoners, amongst whom were four officers, and one of them was the identical man who had a few days previously captured Lord Dunkelin. It may afford Lord Clanricarde pleasure to know that his son is well, and cared for, in Prince Gortschikoff's own house. The Prince himself, however, is said to have been seriously wounded during this affair, and there is even a rumour of his death. We regret to say, that in this encounter Captains Atcherley and Baily, of the 30th, were badly wounded; Captain Cahill, of the 49th, also badly hit, as well as Captain Harriot, of the 40th. Captain Conolly has spent a good night, and is doing well. Captain Harriott has a ball lodged under his shoulder-blade, and will, in all probability, recover; and the rest of the wounded are in a fair way. Though none but the Second Division was engaged in this affair, it was supported by detachments from the Light, the First, and Third Divisions, and by three regiments, sent up by General Bosquet. So that, had the enemy been three times as numerous as they were, they would have been overmatched. Besides prisoners, several trophies were taken—such as drums, colours, trumpets, and quantities of musketry and ammunition."

An heroic achievement, quite characteristic of the British sailor, attracted much attention during and after this engagement. Captain Lushington commanded the naval brigade employed in the siege, and under him was Mr. Hewett, acting mate of the *Beadle*, who had charge of one of the Lancaster guns. From a de-

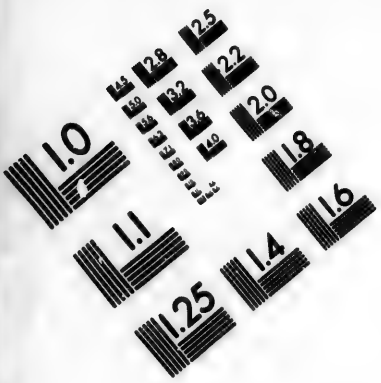
spatch sent by Admiral Lushington to Admiral Dundas, and forwarded to the Admiralty, it appears that when the Russians made their sortie in such force on the 26th, this gun was in jeopardy; indeed, Russian skirmishers approached within 300 yards, and poured in a volley of Minie bullets upon the gunners. An order was received to "spike the gun and retreat;" but Hewett, surmising that a mistake might have occurred in the conveyance of this order from the officer of the picket, sent this simple reply: "Such an order does not come from Captain Lushington, and I will not obey it until it does." He then pulled down the earthen parapet of the battery on which the gun was placed, obtained the aid of some of the soldiers in swinging the gun round to a position it could not have occupied while the parapet remained, and poured a most destructive fire of grape-shot into a large column of Russians; and, on their retreating from the British, he followed them down the hill with 68-pound shot, and fired with fatal precision into the Russian masses. The happy audacity which induced this disregard of an order, or supposed order, contributed materially to the success of the Allies on this day; and the Admiralty marked their sense of the service rendered, by conferring on Mr. Hewett the rank of lieutenant. About this period, the fleets had so few opportunities of rendering service in their own characteristic way, that such an adventure on shore as that of Hewett, afforded great delight to the seamen. For the rest, the ships continued to be simply assistants to the armies. After the threatened attack on Balaklava on the 26th, the *Agamemnon*, *Sanspareil*, *Wasp*, *Cyclops*, *Vesuvius*, and other steamers, were sent to the little port, to render aid in the event of any more serious contingency; while the *Firebrand*, *Niger*, *Beadle*, and *Arrow*, performed the office of couriers between Balaklava and Katcha: carrying sick and wounded from the former place to the latter, and stores and ammunition from the latter to the former.

Lord Raglan, in his despatches, at the close of October and the beginning of November, alluded to a perceptible accumulation of Russian troops, not only in Sebastopol, but also in the valleys and plains north and east of the plateau. The Russian force in the Valley of the Tchernaya was greatly augmented, and was pushed on to the heights near to Balaklava. The Allies therefore immediately strengthened their lines of defence; but it does not appear that Lord Raglan made mention of strengthening at the point opposite to the valley of Inkermann, where the ascent from the valley is sufficiently easy to permit an attack if the heights be undefended. Lord Raglan said:—"The movements of the Russians have induced me to place as strong a force as I can dispose of on the precipitous ridge in that direction (the plain of the Tchernaya,) in order to prevent any attempt to get round to Balaklava: and the whole line is strengthened by a breastwork which has been thrown up by the Highland brigade, the royal marines, and the Turkish troops—thus circumscribing that part of the position; while immediately in front of the gorge leading into that town, a strong redoubt is in course of being constructed, which is to be garrisoned by the 93rd regiment, and armed with several guns; and on the high ground behind and to the left is a battery manned by seamen, which terminates the position to be defended by the troops under the command of Major-general Sir Colin Campbell." Still, he makes no mention of the position at Inkermann, although this despatch was written on the 3rd of November. His Lordship watched Menschikoff on one side, and Liprandi on the other; and even in regard to those two opponents he said: "I should be more satisfied if I could have occupied the position in considerably greater strength." He appears to have been entirely ignorant of Dannenberg's movements at that time.

Being fully aware that his army was far too weak for the onerous duties imposed on it; foreseeing that

he had an anxious responsibility to look forward to; believing that the Russians, besides strengthening their works, had obtained large reinforcements,—the British commander was still far from suspecting the formidable nature of the preparations made by the enemy for the 5th of November, the day of the great battle of INKERMANN: he did not know that priestly fanaticism and imperial encouragement were to be added to military ardour. Shortly before that day, General Dannenberg arrived at Sebastopol, *via* Perekop and Simferopol, with a well-appointed army of 30,000 men, to augment those already under Menschikoff and Liprandi: it was composed of the 10th, 11th, and 12th divisions, each consisting of sixteen battalions of infantry, two batteries of artillery, and a strong force of cavalry. To impart greater importance to this army and its mission, Dannenberg was accompanied by the Grand-dukes Michael and Nicholas, the third and fourth sons of the czar—young men who, it was doubtless hoped, would for the first time witness a splendid victory gained by Russian troops. On the 3d, at a council of war, it was determined that an attack should be made upon the Allied forces two days afterwards; the army was to advance towards Inkermann, take possession of the fortified works crowning the heights, and surround the plain or valley of the Tchernaya: this accomplished, the eastern defence-works of the Allies on the plateau and near Balaklava were to be attacked; while, at a concerted period, a vigorous sortie was to be made from the south-west of Sebastopol upon the French siege-works. Menschikoff took upon himself the command of the town and the management of the sortie; while one of the Gortschikoffs was intrusted with the command of the army of operation in the field—the two grand-dukes being placed upon the staff.

On th 4th of November, an extraordinary scene was witnessed amongst the Russian troops. A number of Bishops had accompanied Dannenberg's army; and these prelates performed a mass with all the pomp and



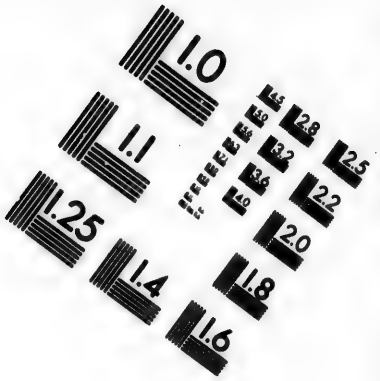
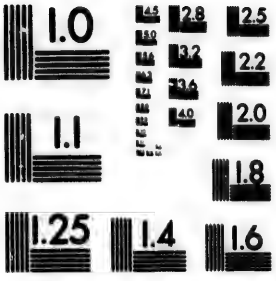
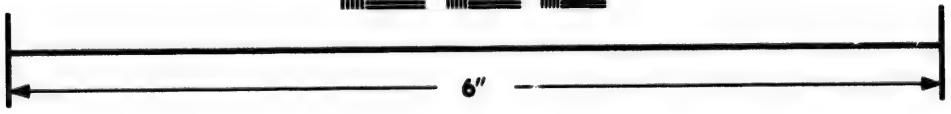
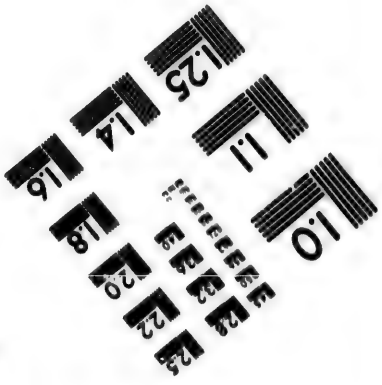


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)







Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

ceremony imaginable; and then one of them addressed the Russian soldiers, praising their military qualifications, and depreciating those of their opponents. He ended by invoking a blessing, and distributing medals.

It rained most incessantly throughout the night of the 4th of November, and the early morning gave no promise of any cessation of the heavy showers which had fallen for the previous four-and-twenty hours. Towards dawn a heavy fog settled down on the heights and on the valley of Inkermann. The pickets and men on outlying posts were thoroughly saturated, and their arms were wet, despite their precautions: and it is scarcely to be wondered at if there were some of them who were not quite as alert as sentries should be in face of an enemy, for it must be remembered that the small British army was almost worn out by its incessant labours, and that men on picket are frequently men who had but a short respite from work in the trenches or from regimental duties. The fog and vapours of drifting rain were so thick as morning broke that one could scarcely see two yards before him. At four o'clock the bells of the churches in Sebastopol were heard ringing dreamily through the cold night air, but the occurrence had been so usual that it excited no particular attention. During the night, however, a sharp-eared sergeant on an outlying picket of the Light Division heard the sound of wheels in the valley below, as though they were approaching the position up the hill. He reported the circumstance to Major Bunbury, but it was supposed that the sound arose from ammunition carts or arabas going into Sebastopol by the Inkermann road. No one suspected for a moment that enormous masses of Russians were creeping up the rugged sides of the heights over the Valley of Inkermann on the undefended flank of the Second Division. There all was security and repose. Little did the slumbering troops in camp imagine that a subtle and indefatigable enemy were bringing into position an overwhelming

artillery, ready to play upon their tents at the first glimpse of daylight. It must be observed that Sir de Lacy Evans had long been aware of the insecurity of this portion of our position, and had repeatedly pointed it out to those whose duty it was to guard against the dangers which threatened us. It was the only ground where we were exposed to surprise, for a number of ravines and unequal curves in the slope of the hill towards the valley led up to the crest and summit, against the adverse side of which our right flank was resting, without guns, intrenchments, abattis, or outlying defence of any kind. Every one admitted the truth of the representations addressed to the authorities on this subject; but indolence, or else false security and an overweening confidence, led to indifference and procrastination. A battery was thrown up with sandbags and gabions and fascines on the slope of the hill over Inkermann on the east, but no guns were mounted there, for Sir de Lacy Evans thought that two guns in such a position, without any works to support them, would only invite attack and capture. In the action of the 26th of October, the enemy tried their strength almost on the very spot selected by them this morning, but it may now be considered that they merely made a *reconnaissance en force* on that occasion, and that they were waiting for reinforcements to assault the position where it was most vulnerable, and where they might speculate with some certainty on the effects of a surprise on a sleeping camp on a winter's morning. Although the arrangements of Sir de Lacy Evans on repulsing the sortie were, as Lord Raglan declared, "so perfect that they could not fail to insure success," it was evident that a larger force than the Russians employed would have forced him to retire from his ground, or to fight a battle in defence of it with the aid of the other divisions of the army; and yet nothing was done. No effort was made to intrench the lines, to cast up a single shovel of earth, to cut down the brushwood, or form an abattis. It was thought "not to be necessary."

It was a little after five o'clock on this eventful morning, when Brigadier-General Codrington, in accordance with his usual habit, visited the outlying pickets of his own brigade of the Light Division. It was reported to him that "all was well," and the General entered into some conversation with Captain Pretyman, of the 33d Regiment, who was on duty on the ground, in the course of which it was remarked that it would not be at all surprising if the Russians availed themselves of the gloom of the morning to make an attack on our position, calculating on the effects of the rain in disarming our vigilance and spoiling our weapons. The Brigadier, who has proved a most excellent, cool, and brave officer, turned his pony round at last, and retraced his steps through the brushwood towards his lines. He had only proceeded a few paces when a sharp rattle of musketry was heard down the hill and on the left of the pickets of the Light Division. It was here that the pickets of the Second Division were stationed. General Codrington at once turned his horse's head in the direction of the firing, and in a few moments galloped back to turn out his division. The Russians were advancing in force upon us. Their gray greatcoats rendered them almost invisible when close at hand. The pickets of the Second Division had scarcely made out the advancing lines of infantry, who were clambering up the steep sides of the hill through a drizzling shower of rain, when they were forced to retreat by a close sharp volley of musketry, and were driven up towards the brow of the hill, contesting every step of it, and firing as long as they had a round of ammunition on the Russian advance. The pickets of the Light Division were assailed soon afterwards, and were also obliged to retreat and fall back on their main body, and it was evident that a very strong sortie had been made upon the right of the position of the allied armies, with the object of forcing them to raise the siege, and, if possible, of driving them into the sea. About the same time

that the advance of the Russians on our right flank took place, a demonstration was made by the cavalry, artillery, and a few infantry in the valley against Balaklava, to divert the attention of the French on the heights above, and to occupy the Highland Brigade and Marines, but only an interchange of a few harmless rounds of cannon and musketry took place, and the enemy contented themselves with drawing up their cavalry in order of battle, supported by field artillery, at the neck of the valley, in readiness to sweep over the heights and cut our retreating troops to pieces should the assault on our right be successful.

A Semaphore post had been erected on the heights over Inkermann in communication with another on the hill over their position, from which the intelligence of our defeat was to be conveyed to the Cavalry General, and the news would have been made known in Sebastopol by similar means, in order to encourage the garrison to a general sortie along their front. A steamer with heavy shell guns and mortars was sent up by night to the head of the creek at Inkermann, and caused much injury throughout the day by the enormous shells she pitched right over the hill upon our men. Everything that could be done to bind victory to their eagles—if they have any—was done by the Russian Generals. The presence of their Grand Duke Michael Nicholavitch, who told them that the Czar had issued orders that every Frenchman and Englishman was to be driven into the sea ere the year closed, cheered the common soldiers, who regard the son of the Emperor as an emanation of the Divine presence. They had abundance of a coarser and more material stimulant, which was found in their canteens and flasks; and, above all, the priests of the Greek Catholic Church "blessed" them ere they went forth upon their mission, and assured them of the aid and protection of the Most High. A mass was said for the army, and the joys of Heaven were freely offered to those who might fall in the holy fight, and the fa-

vours of the Emperor were largely promised to those who might survive the bullets of a heretical enemy.

The men in our camps had just begun a struggle with the rain in endeavouring to light their fires for breakfast when the alarm was given that the Russians were advancing in force. Brigadier-General Pennefather, to whom the illness of Sir de Lacy Evans had given for a time the command of the Second Division, at once got the troops under arms. One brigade, under Brigadier-General Adams, consisting of the 41st, 47th, and 49th Regiments, was pushed on to the brow of the hill to check the advance of the enemy by the road through the brushwood from the valley. The other brigade (Brigadier-General Pennefather's own), consisting of the 30th, 55th, and 95th Regiments, was led to operate on their flank. They were at once met with a tremendous fire of shell and round shot from guns which the enemy had posted on the high grounds in advance of our right, and it was soon found that the Russians had brought up at least 40 pieces of heavy artillery to bear upon us. Meantime the alarm had spread through the camps. Sir George Cathcart with the greatest promptitude turned out as many of his division as were not employed in the trenches, and led the portions of the 20th, 21st, 46th, 57th, 63d, and 68th Regiments, which were available against the enemy, directing them to the left of the ground occupied by the columns of the Second Division. It was intended that one brigade, under Brigadier-General Torrens, should move in support of the brigade under Brigadier-General Goldie; but it was soon found that the enemy were in such strength that the whole force of the division, which consisted of only 2,200 men, must be vigorously used to repel them. Sir George Brown had rushed up to the front with his brave fellows of the Light Division—the remnants of the 7th Fusiliers, of the 19th Regiment, of the 23d Regiment, of the 33d Regiment, and the 77th and the 88th Regiments, under Brigadiers Codrington and Buller. As

they began to move across the ground of the Second Division, they were at once brought under fire by an unseen enemy. The gloomy character of the morning was unchanged. Showers of rain fell through the fogs, and turned the ground into a clammy soil, like a freshly-ploughed field; and the Russians, who had, no doubt, taken the bearings of the ground ere they placed their guns, fired at random indeed, but with too much effect on our advancing columns. While all the army was thus in motion, the Duke of Cambridge was not behind-hand, in bring up the Guards under Brigadier Bentinck—all of his division now left with him, as the Highlanders were under Sir Colin Campbell at Balaklava. These splendid troops with the greatest rapidity and ardour rushed to the front on the right of the Second Division, and gained the summit of the hill, towards which two columns of the Russians were struggling in the closest order of which the nature of the ground would admit. The Third Division, under Sir R. England, was also got under arms as a reserve, and one portion of it, comprising the 50th, part of the 28th and of the 4th Regiments, was engaged with the enemy ere the fight was over.

And now commenced the bloodiest struggle ever witnessed since war cursed the earth. It has been doubted by military historians if an enemy have ever stood a charge with the bayonet, but here the bayonet was often the only weapon employed in conflicts of the most obstinate and deadly character. We have been prone to believe that no foe could ever withstand the British soldier wielding his favourite weapon, and that at Maida alone did the enemy ever cross bayonets with him, but at the battle of Inkermann not only did we charge in vain—not only were desperate encounters between masses of men maintained with the bayonet alone—but we were obliged to resist bayonet to bayonet the Russian infantry again and again, as they charged us with incredible fury and determination. The Battle of Inkermann admits of no

description. It was a series of dreadful deeds of daring, of sanguinary hand-to-hand fights, of despairing rallies, of desperate assaults—in glens and valleys, in brushwood glades and remote dells, hidden from all human eyes, and from which the conquerors, Russian or British, issued only to engage fresh foes, till our old supremacy, so rudely assailed, was triumphantly asserted, and the battalions of the Czar gave way before our steady courage and the chivalrous fire of France. No one, however placed, could have witnessed even a small portion of the doings of this eventful day, for the vapours, fog, and drizzling mist obscured the ground where the struggle took place, to such an extent as to render it impossible to see what was going on at the distance of a few yards. Besides this, the irregular nature of the ground, the rapid fall of the hill towards Inkermann, where the deadliest fight took place, would have prevented one under the most favourable circumstances seeing more than a very insignificant and detailed piece of the terrible work below. It was six o'clock when all the Head-Quarter camp was roused by roll after roll of musketry on the right, and by the sharp report of field guns. Lord Raglan was soon informed that the enemy were advancing in force, and soon after seven o'clock he rode towards the scene of action, followed by his staff, and accompanied by Sir John Burgoyne, Brigadier-General Strangways, R.A., and several aides-de-camp. As they approached the volume of sound, the steady, unceasing thunder of gun, and rifle, and musket told that the engagement was at its height. The shells of the Russians, thrown with great precision, burst so thickly among the troops that the noise resembled continuous discharges of cannon, and the massive fragments inflicted death on every side. One of the first things the Russians did, when a break in the fog enabled them to see the camp of the Second Division, was to open fire on the tents with round shot and large shell, and tent after tent was blown down, torn

to pieces, or sent into the air, while the men engaged in camp duties and the unhappy horses tethered up in the lines were killed or mutilated. Colonel Gambier was at once ordered to get up two heavy guns (18-pounders) on the rising ground, and to reply to a fire which our light guns were utterly inadequate to meet. As he was engaging in this duty, and was exerting himself with Captain D'Aulair to urge them forward, Colonel Gambier was severely but not dangerously wounded, and was obliged to retire. His place was taken by Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson, and the conduct of that officer in directing the fire of those two pieces, which had the most marked effect in deciding the fate of the day, was such as to elicit the admiration of the army, and to deserve the thanks of every man engaged in that bloody fray. But long ere these guns had been brought up there had been a great slaughter of the enemy, and a heavy loss of our own men. Our generals could not see where to go. They could not tell where the enemy were—from what side they were coming, nor where they were coming to. In darkness, gloom, and rain they had to lead their lines through thick scrubby bushes and thorny brakes, which broke our ranks and irritated the men, while every pace was marked by a corpse or man wounded by an enemy whose position was only indicated by the rattle of musketry and the rush of ball and shell.

Sir George Cathcart, seeing his men disordered by the fire of a large column of Russian infantry which was outflanking them, while portions of the various regiments composing his division were maintaining an unequal struggle with an overwhelming force, rode down into the ravine in which they were engaged, to rally them. He perceived at the same time that the Russians had actually gained possession of a portion of the hill in rear of one flank of his division, but still his stout heart never failed him for a moment. He rode at their head, encouraging them; and when a cry

arose that the ammunition was failing, he said coolly, "Have you not got your bayonets?" As he led on his men it was observed that another body of men had gained the top of the hill behind them on the right, but it was impossible to tell whether they were friends or foes. A deadly volley was poured into our scattered regiments. Sir George cheered them, and led them back up the hill, but a flight of bullets passed where he rode, and he fell from his horse close to the Russian columns. The men had to fight their way through a host of enemies, and lost fearfully. They were surrounded and bayonetted on all sides, and won their desperate way up the hill with diminished ranks and the loss of near 500 men. Sir George Cathcart's body was afterwards recovered, with a bullet wound in the head and three bayonet wounds in the body. In this struggle, where the Russians fought with the greatest ferocity, and bayonetted the wounded as they fell, Colonel Swyny, of the 63rd, a most gallant officer, Lieutenant Dowling, 20th, Major Wynne, 68th, and other officers, met their death; and Brigadier Goldie (of the 57th Regiment) received the wounds from which he has since died. The conflict on the right was equally uncertain and equally bloody. In the Light Division, the 88th got so far into the front that they were surrounded and put into utter confusion, when four companies of the 77th, under Major Straton, charged the Russians, broke them, and relieved their comrades. The fight had not long commenced before it was evident that the Russians had received orders to fire at all mounted officers. Sir George Brown was hit by a shot, which went through his arm and struck his side; and deep was the regret when he was borne on a litter from the field; for it was well known that the troops had lost the services of a good soldier that day. Further to the right a contest, the like of which, perhaps, never took place before, was going on between the Guards and dense columns of Russian infantry of five times their num-

ber. The Guards had charged them and driven them back, when they perceived that the Russians had outflanked them. They were out of ammunition too. They were uncertain whether there were friends or foes in the rear. They had no support, no reserve, and they were fighting with the bayonet against an enemy who stoutly contested every inch of ground, when the corps of another Russian column appeared on their right far in their rear. Then a fearful *mitraille* was poured into them, and volleys of rifle and musketry. The Guards were broken; they had lost 14 officers, who fell in the field; they had left one-half of their number on the ground, and they retired along the lower road of the valley. They were soon reinforced, however, and speedily avenged their loss. The French advanced about 10 o'clock, and turned the flank of the enemy.

The Second Division, in the centre of the line, were hardly pressed. The 41st Regiment in particular were exposed to a terrible fire, and the 95th were in the middle of such disorganizing volleys that they only mustered 64 men when paraded at two o'clock. In fact, the whole of the division numbered only 300 men when assembled by Major Eman in the rear of their camp after the fight was over. The regiments did not take their colours into the battle, but the officers nevertheless were picked off wherever they went, and it did not require the colour staff to indicate their presence. Our ambulances were soon filled, and ere nine o'clock they were busily engaged in carrying loads of men, all covered with blood, and groaning, to the rear of the line.

About half-past nine o'clock, Lord Raglan and his staff were assembled on a knoll, in the vain hope of getting a glimpse of the battle which was raging below them. Here General Strangways was mortally wounded, and he met his death in the following way:—A shell came right in among the staff—it exploded in Captain Somerset's horse, ripping him open; a

portion of the shell tore off the leather overalls of Captain Somerset's trousers, it then struck down Captain Gordon's horse and killed him at once, and then blew away General Strangways' leg, so that it hung by a shred of flesh and a bit of cloth from the thigh. The poor old General never moved a muscle of his face. He said merely, in a calm and gentle voice, "Will any one be kind enough to lift me off my horse?" He was taken down and laid upon the ground, while his life blood ebbed fast, and at last he was carried to the rear. But the gallant old man had not sufficient strength to undergo an operation, and in two hours he had sunk to rest, leaving behind him a memory which will ever be held dear by every officer and man of the army.

The fight about the battery, to which allusion has been made, was most sanguinary. It was found that there was no banquette to stand upon, and that the men inside could not fire upon the enemy. The Russians advanced mass after mass of infantry. As fast as one column was broken and repulsed, another took its place. For three long hours about 8,500 British infantry contended against at least four times their number. No wonder that at times they were compelled to retire. But they came to the charge again. The admirable devotion of the officers, who knew they were special objects of attack, can never be too highly praised. Nor can the courage and steadiness of the few men who were left to follow them in this sanguinary assault on the enemy be sufficiently admired. At one time the Russians succeeded in getting up close to the guns of Captain Wodehouse's and of Captain Turner's batteries in the gloom of the morning. Uncertain whether they were friends or foes, our artillerymen hesitated to fire. The Russians charged them suddenly, bore all resistance down before them, drove away or bayonetted the gunners, and succeeded in spiking some of the guns. Their columns gained the hill, and for a few moments the fate of the day trembled in the ba-

lance, but Adams's Brigade, Pennefather's Brigade and the Light Division made another desperate charge, while Dickson's guns swept their columns, and the Guards, with undiminished valour and steadiness, though with a sadly decreased front, pushed on again to meet their bitter enemies. The rolling of musketry, the crash of steel, the pounding of the guns were deafening, and the Russians as they charged up the heights yelled like demons. They advanced, halted, advanced again, received and returned a close and deadly fire; but the Minié is the king of weapons—Inkermann proved it. The regiments of the French division and the Marines, armed with the old and much belauded Brown-Bess, could do nothing with their thin line of fire against the massive multitudes of the Muscovite infantry, but the volleys of the Minié cleft them like the hand of the Destroying Angel, and they fell like leaves in autumn before them. About ten o'clock a body of French infantry appeared on our right, a joyful sight to our struggling regiments. The Zouaves came on at the *pas de charge*. The French artillery had already begun to play with deadly effect on the right wing of the Russians. Three battalions of the Chasseurs d'Orleans rushed by, the light of battle on their faces. They were accompanied by a battalion of Chasseurs Indigènes—the Arab Sepoys of Algiers. Their trumpets sounded above the din of battle, and when their eager advance was seen right on the flank of the enemy it was known the day was won. Assailed in front by our men—broken in several places by the impetuosity of our charge, renewed again and again—attacked by the French infantry on the right, and by artillery all along the line, the Russians began to retire, and at twelve o'clock they were driven pell-mell down the hill towards the valley, where pursuit would have been madness, as the roads were all covered by their artillery. They left mounds of dead behind them. Long ere they fled, the Chasseurs d'Afrique charged them most brilliantly over the ground, difficult and

broken as it was, and inflicted great loss on them, while the effect of this rapid attack, aided by the advance of our troops, secured our guns, which were only spiked with wood, and were soon rendered fit for service. The British cavalry, the remnant of the Light Brigade, were removed into a position where it was hoped they might be of service, but they were too few to attempt anything, and while they were drawn up they lost several horses and some men. One officer, Cornet Cleveland, was struck by a piece of shell in the side, and has since expired. There are now only two officers left with the fragment of the 17th Lancers—Captain Godfrey Morgan and Cornet George Wombwell. At twelve o'clock the battle of Inkermann seemed to have been won, but the day, which had cleared up for an hour previously so as to enable us to see the enemy and meet him, again became obscured. Rain and fog set in, and as we could not pursue the Russians, who were retiring under the shelter of their artillery, we had formed in front of our lines and were holding the battle-field so stoutly contested, when the enemy, taking advantage of our quietude, again advanced, while their guns pushed forward and opened a tremendous fire upon us.

General Canrobert, who never quitted Lord Raglan for much of the early part of the day, at once directed the French to advance and outflank the enemy. In his efforts he was most ably seconded by General Bosquet, whose devotion was noble. Nearly all his mounted escort were down beside and behind him. General Canrobert was slightly wounded. His immediate attendants suffered severely. The renewed assault was so admirably repulsed that the Russians sullenly retired, still protected by their crushing artillery.

The Russians, about ten, made a sortie on the French lines, and traversed two parallels before they could be resisted. They were driven back at last with great loss, and as they retired they blew up some mines inside the Flagstaff Fort, evidently afraid that the French would enter pell-mell after them.

At one o'clock the Russians were again retiring. At 1 40 Dickson's two guns smashed their artillery, and they limbered up, leaving five tumbrels and one gun-carriage on the field.

In the account written by General Bosquet to General Canrobert concerning the share borne by the former in the day's proceedings, he commented on three points of attack selected by the Russians: namely, near the bridge of Inkermann; opposite the telegraph (where the Woronsow road ascends from the plain to the plateau); and further south towards Kadikoi. He formed an opinion that the two latter were mere feints, and that the serious point of attack would be at the extreme right of the English. To this quarter, therefore, he sent assistance. He placed the whole of his troops under arms as quickly as possible; and sent to the scene of struggle portions of his Zouaves, Algerine tirailleurs, and chasseurs, together with battalions of the 6th, 7th, and 50th regiments. It was with these troops that Bosquet aided the heroic band of English to drive the enemy finally over the crest, and pursue them with a crushing fire towards the bridge. The time was indeed critical: the British had been fighting several hours, sinking rapidly in numbers and in physical strength, though not in moral determination. How much longer they could have maintained the unequal contest is doubtful; but when Bosquet brought forward his chasseurs and Zouaves, and when these nimble fellows dashed at the Russians with all the energy of ardent French troops, the repulse of the enemy became most signal and rapid. And when, in the afternoon, the enemy made one last grand attempt to regain the lost fortunes of the day, it was mainly the French who repulsed them, and drove them finally across the valley. It is the opinion of all, that without this aid the British must ultimately have given way, despite their heroism.

General Forey bore a share in the labours of this tremendous day, as commander of the French siege-

army. It was he who was called upon to check and defeat the sortie from the town, constituting part of the Russian system of operations. At nine o'clock in the morning, while the British Guards were so fiercely engaged near the redoubt, he was suddenly attacked by a force of 5000 strong, which emerged from the streets of Sebastopol, crossed the lines of defence, and approached his siege-works—the force, according to Forey's despatch, consisting of four battalions of the regiment of Minsk, one of the regiment of Volhynia, and a body of volunteers. The Russians left the town by the Quarantine bastion, and advanced along the ravine situated between that bastion and the French works: enveloped in a damp November mist, they approached unperceived and threw their force upon the French batteries No. 1 and No. 2. The defenders of those batteries, apparently unable to contend against the large numbers opposed to them, retired to a short distance, as did likewise a portion of the troops placed in defence of the trenches. Forey speedily brought some of his regiments—including the 19th and 39th, with battalions of chasseurs and of the Foreign Legion—to the rescue; these advanced upon the Russians, who abandoned the two batteries, and retired beyond the ravine. Generals de Lourmel and D'Aurelle were sent forward in pursuit of the enemy, while General le Vaillant and Prince Napoleon held themselves in readiness to support these movements. Forey placed himself at the head of the chasseurs and the artillery, with a view to cut off the retreat of the enemy in case they should attempt to advance beyond the two batteries. The Russians speedily found themselves pursued in great force, besides being reached by a destructive storm of shot from artillery brought by the French up to the heights overlooking the Quarantine ravine; they were driven back into the town, and thus the sortie ended. General de Lourmel was wounded by a ball while pursuing them almost to the very walls of the place. Forey owned to a very serious loss, and

estimated the Russian loss at 1500. The whole affair was simply a frustrated attack, leaving each side in possession of the same works and positions as before; the Russians spiked the eight guns in the two French batteries, but this mischief was soon afterwards repaired. The French had to mourn the loss of a favourite officer in General de Lourmel; for the wound received during the action proved fatal. When struck in the breast by a ball, the general betrayed neither emotion nor suffering, but told his orderlies to keep secret the fact of his being wounded. Half an hour elapsed before he would consent to be taken from his horse; when he did so, he attempted to walk, but his strength speedily failed him, and he submitted to be carried. Still, he required his attendants to stop every few moments, that he might look back at his troops, give orders, and correct movements. Arrived at his tent, and placed under the care of the surgeons, his wound speedily exhibited fatal symptoms: the ball had passed completely through the body; and after many hours of pain, borne with a soldier's fortitude, General de Lourmel ceased to live.

A third point on which the French were engaged was on the south-east margin of the plateau, where Liprandi made an attack, supposed to be intended as a feint, to draw off the attention of the Allies from the heights of Inkermann. It shows how alarming was the danger the Allies escaped on that day. Three distinct armies, in three different places of the plateau whereon the Allies were encamped, and this, too, with overwhelming numbers, and in a manner completely unexpected. Lord Raglan, speaking of the Russians actually engaged, said: "I am led to suppose that they could not have been less than 60,000. Their loss was excessive; it is calculated that they left on the field near 5000 dead, and that their casualties amounted in the whole, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, to not less than 15,000. The number of British troops actually engaged little exceeded 8000 men; whilst those

of General Bosquet's divison only amounted to 6000, the remaining available French troops on the spot having been kept in reserve."

So obstinate a conflict would not fail to supply numerous examples of personal hasards or escapes. A sergeant was left alone for a few minutes, in advance of his regiment, and five Russians were speedily on him; he shot one, bayonetted a second, and fell under the attacks of the other three, being wounded in five places; at this moment a horse's hoofs were heard; the Russians fled; a British colonel pulled up the sergeant on his horse, and galloped off with him in safety. A sergeant of artillery was seen alone in the midst of a body of Russians who had made an attack on a British battery; he had one arm round the muzzle of his gun, as if to guard it, and with the other was defending himself fiercely, sword in hand, against those around him: he fell at last, and when his body was found, it had received upwards of fifty bayonet-wounds. Lieutenant Crosse, of the 88th, was wounded by four Russians: he shot two in front of him with his revolver; Private Houlaghan rushed out of the ranks, shot a third Russian, bayonetted the fourth, took up the lieutenant in his arms, and ran back with him in safety to the rear of the regiment. When Captain Nicholson, of the 77th, was lying wounded on the ground, a dastardly Russian approached and bayonetted him; but the captain, getting at his revolver, shot the fellow dead on the spot. An English gun was on the point of being captured, when Major Townsend, in command at that spot, turned round to the few artillerymen near, and cried out in the agony of a soldier's pride: "You won't disgrace me!" On the instant a shell from the enemy's battery killed him on the spot; whereupon a young lieutenant drew his sword, galloped towards the gun, rode over one Russian, killed another, thrust several more aside, and the gun was recaptured. One of the Fusilier Guards describes his part in the terrific contest around the redoubt in lan-

guage which, while it commands credence for its straightforward clearness and simplicity, illustrates the insensibility to pain exhibited by men at such moments.* A soldier of the 49th was engaged for four hours defending a battery of English guns before he was shot, during which he fired nearly a hundred times; a musket-ball at length struck him in the thigh, but as he could not retire without certain destruction, he simply tied a handkerchief round his wound, and resumed his duties. Presently he saw four Russian soldiers and an officer creeping through the brushwood and stabbing the British wounded—an atrocious pro-

* "We fought about an hour upon the high ground before I was struck. My front rank was shot dead. I took his place, and was firing away as fast as ever. In a few moments, a musket-ball went through my right arm. It was just like a pin touching me at the time. I continued firing about five minutes; then I got a ball in the left breast. I never fell; but, thank God, the ball passed quick as lightning through my back, just below my shoulder. The wound is three or four inches higher before than it is behind, because the enemy were higher than we, they firing in a slanting direction. I thought at this time the ball was in my chest. I fired thrice after this—then I reeled like a drunken man. I could scarcely stand for the want of blood. I was not able to load the fourth time after this shot. We were now within ten yards of some of the Russians, and every moment walking over their dead and wounded. We just got the word 'charge bayonets' as I fell to the rear. I threw my firelock from me. I had my blanket and great coat on my back; I pitched them off. I was staggering down the hill as well as I could, when I was soon struck on the arm with a bit of shell. I had not time to say a word till another ball went through my left thigh. I got about twenty yards further down, and then fell on my face. I never got timorous till then. The balls were flying over me by wholesale. I tried to get up, and, with the help of God, I got to my feet once more. I was not one minute on my feet till a ball struck me on the first joint of the middle finger of my left hand, and broke it. I still kept my feet, and got to the bottom of the hill, where I fell, and lay for four hours before I was carried away. In my next, I will tell you how I got off the field."

ceeding so frequently adopted during the day as to excite the most intense indignation on the part of the Allies; the soldier fired his rifle, and struck down one of the Russians; three others rushed at him with the bayonet: he hurled his bayonet at one like a lance, and pierced him; then, picking up a revolver, dropped by some wounded or killed officer, he shot the two others, and took the officer prisoner. While carrying him off, and stooping to pick up a water-bottle to refresh them both, he received a cowardly stab from the officer, whom he speedily despatched for his treachery.—But, in truth, the soldiers' letters after the Battle of Inkermann were full of exciting incidents. It is worthy of remark, that the men were enabled, after the battle of the Alma, to give, each in his own simple way, an account of the battle itself; but after the more deadly struggle of the 5th of November, the recitals were of terrific personal encounters, in which each man had to fight for very life: he had no time to understand or think of tactics.

Lord Raglan's description of the battle:—

"My Lord Duke,—I have the honour to report to your Grace that the army under my command, powerfully aided by the Corps of Observation of the French army, under the command of that distinguished officer, General Bosquet, effectually repulsed and defeated a most vigorous and determined attack of the enemy on our position overlooking the ruins of Inkermann, on the morning of the 5th inst.

"In my letter to your grace, of the 3rd, I informed you that the enemy had considerably increased their force in the Valley of the Tchernaya. The following day this augmentation was still further apparent, and large masses of troops had evidently arrived from the northward, and on two occasions persons of rank were observed to have joined the Russian camp.

"I have subsequently learnt that the 4th *corps d'armee*, conveyed by the carriages of the country, and in the slightest possible order, had been brought from Moldavia, and were to be immediately followed by the 3rd corps.

"It was therefore to be expected that an extensive movement would not be long deferred.

"Accordingly, shortly before daylight on the 5th, strong columns of the enemy came upon the advanced pickets covering the right of the position. The pickets behaved with admirable gallantry, defending the ground foot by foot against the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, until the Second Division, under Major-General Pennefather, with its field-guns, which had immediately been got under arms, was placed in position.

"The Light Division, under Lieutenant-General Sir George Brown, was also brought to the front without loss of time; the First Brigade, under Major-General Codrington, occupying the long slopes to the left towards Sebastopol, and protecting our right battery, and guarding against attack on that side; and the Second Brigade, under Brigadier-General Buller, forming on the left of the Second Division, with the 88th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Jeffreys, thrown in advance.

"The Brigade of Guards, under his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge and Major-General Bentinck, proceeded likewise to the front, and took up most important ground to the extreme right on the alignement of the Second Division, but separated from it by a deep and precipitous ravine, and posting its guns with those of the Second Division.

"The Fourth Division, under Lieutenant-General Sir George Cathcart, having been brought from their encampment, advanced to the front and right of the attack; the First Brigade, under Brigadier-General Goldie, proceeded to the left of the Inkermann road; the Second Brigade under Brigadier-General Torrens, to the right of it, and on the ridge overhanging the valley of the Tchernaya.

"The Third Division, under Lieutenant-General Sir Richard England, occupied in part the ground vacated by the Fourth Division, and supported the Light Division by two regiments under Brigadier-General Sir John Campbell; while Brigadier-General Eyre held the command of the troops in the trenches.

"The morning was extremely dark, with a drizzling rain, rendering it almost impossible to discover anything beyond the flash and smoke of artillery and heavy musketry fire.

"It, however, soon became evident that the enemy, under cover of a vast cloud of skirmishers, supported by dense columns of infantry, had advanced numerous batteries of large calibre to the high ground to the left and front of the Second Division; while powerful columns of infantry attacked with great vigour the Brigade of Guards.

"Additional batteries of heavy artillery were also placed on our left by the enemy on the slopes to our left; the guns in the field amounting in the whole to ninety pieces, independently, however, of the ship guns and those in the works of Sebastopol.

"Protected by a tremendous fire of shot, shell, and grape, the Russian columns advanced in great force, requiring every effort of gallantry on the part of our troops to resist them.

"At this time two battalions of French infantry, which had on the first notice been sent by General Bosquet, joined our right, and materially contributed to the successful resistance of the attack, cheering with our men, and charging the enemy down the hill with great loss.

"About the same time a determined assault was made on our extreme left, and for a moment the enemy possessed themselves of four of our guns; three of which were retaken by the 88th, while the fourth was speedily recaptured by the 77th Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Egerton.

"In the opposite direction, the Brigade of Guards, under his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, was engaged in a severe conflict.

"The enemy, under the cover of thick brushwood, advanced in two heavy bodies, and assaulted with great determination a small redoubt which had been constructed for two guns, but was not armed. The combat was most arduous; and the Brigade, after displaying the utmost steadiness and gallantry, was obliged to retire before very superior numbers, until supported by a wing of the 20th Regiment, of the Fourth Division, when they again advanced, and retook the redoubt.

"The ground was afterwards occupied in gallant style by French troops, and the Guards speedily re-formed in rear of the right flank of the Second Division.

"In the meanwhile, Lieut-General the Honourable Sir G. Cathcart, with a few companies of the 68th Regiment, considering that he might make a strong impression by descending into the valley, and taking the enemy in flank, moved rapidly forward; but, finding the heights above him in full occupation of the Russians, he suddenly discovered that he was entangled with a superior force; and, while attempting to withdraw his men, he received a mortal wound; shortly previous to which, Brigadier-General Torrens, when leading the 68th, was likewise severely wounded.

"Subsequently to this, the battle continued with unabated vigour and with no positive result, the enemy bringing

upon our line not only the fire of all their field batteries, but those in front of the works of the place, and the ship-guns, till the afternoon, when the symptoms of giving way first became apparent; and, shortly after, although the fire did not cease, the retreat became general, and heavy masses were observed retiring over the bridge of Inkermann, and ascending the opposite heights, abandoning on the field 5000 to 6000 dead and wounded, multitudes of the latter having been already carried off by them. I never before witnessed such a spectacle as the field presents, but upon this I will not dwell."

General Canrobert's description of the battle:—

"The action, summarily expressed in my last despatch, was one of the hottest and most violently contested. From the very first musket shots that were fired, the deserters that came over to us revealed the true state of the Russian army with respect to its effective strength, and we are enabled to calculate the reinforcements it has successively received since the battle of the Alma. There are—1st, some contingents from the Asiatic coast, from Kertch and Kaffa; 2ndly, six battalions and some detachments of Marines from Nicolaieff; 3rdly, four battalions of the Cossacks of the Black Sea; 4thly, a great part of the army of the Danube; 10thly, 11thly, and 12thly, some divisions of infantry, forming the 4th corps, commanded by General Dannenberg. These three divisions were transported by post horses, with their artillery, from Odessa to Simferopol in a few days. Finally arrived the Grand Dukes Michael and Nicholas, whose presence could not fail to over-excite the army, which forms, with the garrison of Sebastopol, a total of at least 100,000 men.

"It was in this condition that 45,000 men of this army surprised the point of the heights at Inkermann, which the English army had not been able to occupy with sufficient forces. Only 6000 English took part in the action, the remainder being employed on the siege-works; they valiantly sustained the shock until the moment when General Bosquet, arriving with a part of his division, could render them such aid as might insure success. One hardly knows which most to praise, the energetic firmness with which our allies braved for a long time the storm, or the intelligent vigour displayed by General Bosquet, when conducting a part of the brigades Bourbaki and d'Autemarre, in order to attack the enemy, who extended beyond them on their right.

"The 3rd Regiment of Zouaves, under the *chefs de batail-*

en, Montaudon and Dubos, there justified most signally the old reputation of the arm. The Algerian Rifles (*Tirailleurs*) Colonel de Wimpffen; a battalion of the 7th Light Infantry, Commander Vuisier; the 6th Regiment of the Line, Colonel de Camas, vied with them in ardour. Three times they crossed bayonets with the enemy, who only yielded ground after the third charge, upon which he left it strewed with his dead and wounded. The Russian heavy artillery and their field-pieces were very superior in number, and had a commanding position. Two horse batteries, Commander de la Boussinière, and one battery of the Second Division of Infantry, Commander Barral, the whole under the orders of Colonel Borgeot, sustained concurrently with the English artillery, the struggle during the entire day.

"The enemy decided on beating a retreat, leaving behind more than 3000 dead, a very large number of wounded, a few hundred prisoners, as well as several powder chests, in the hands of the Allies. His losses in the gross aggregate, cannot be put down at less than from 8000 to 10,000 men.

"While these events were taking place on the right, about 5000 men of the garrison made a vigorous sortie on the left of our attack siege line, under cover of a thick fog, and along the ravines that facilitated their approach. The troops on duty in the trenches, under the orders of General de la Motterouge, marched against the enemy, who had already invaded two of our batteries, and repulsed him, killing more than 200 men on the site of these batteries.

"Lieut-General Forey, commanding the siege corps, arrived by rapid and skilful evolutions with the troops of the Fourth Division to the support of the Guards in the trenches, and himself marched at the head of the 5th Battalion of the Chasseurs à pied. The Russians, repulsed along the whole line, retired precipitately on the fortification, with considerable loss; when General Lourmel, seeing them fly before him, and carried away by a chivalrous courage, flung himself headlong in the rear, with his brigade, and fell wounded under the very walls of the fortification. General Forey had much difficulty in extricating him from the very advanced position to which, yielding to the impulse of superabundant courage, he had led his brigade. The Brigade of Aurelle, which had occupied an excellent position on the left, covered his retreat, which was effected not without a certain loss under the fire of the fortification. Colonel Niol, of the 20th Regiment of the Line, who lost his two *chefs de bataillon*, had taken the command of the brigade, the energetic conduct of which was beyond all

praise. The enemy in this sortie lost a thousand men killed, wounded, or made prisoners; and, in addition to this, received a very considerable moral and physical check.

"The battle of Inkermann, and the contest maintained by the body of besiegers has shed great glory on our forces, and has augmented the moral strength which the Allied armies have always possessed. At the same time, we have suffered severe losses, which must be regretted. The English army has lost 2400 men killed or wounded, among whom are to be reckoned seven Generals, three of whom are killed. The French army has suffered to the extent of 1726 killed or wounded. We have bitterly to regret the loss of General de Lourmel, since dead from his wounds, whose brilliant qualities promised a grand career in the future. It is my painful duty also to acquaint you with the death of Colonel du Cumas, of the 6th Regiment of the Line, killed at the head of his troop, at the very instant in which they came in contact with the enemy.

"The vigour of the Allied troops—subject as they were to the twofold struggles of a siege of unprecedented difficulty, and of battles which recall the greatest struggles of our military history—cannot be too highly praised."

Prince Menschikoff's description of the battle:—

"Yesterday the 5th, a sortie was made from Sebastopol, on the side of the bastion No. 1; the following troops took part in it:—Of the Tenth Division of Infantry: the regiments of Catherineborg, Tomsk, and Kolyvon. Of the Eleventh Division of Infantry: the regiments of Selinghinsk, Yakoutsh, and Okhotsk. Of the Sixteenth Division of Infantry: the regiments of Vladimir, Souzdal, and Ouglitch; and of the Seventeenth Division of Infantry: the regiments of Boutirsk, Borodino, and Tauruntino. As many guns were employed as the difficulty of the gates permitted the men to take with them.

"The command of the troops was confided to General Dannenberg, the Commander-in-Chief of the Fourth Infantry corps.

"Our first attack on the heights was very fortunate; the English fortifications were carried, and eleven of their guns spiked. Unfortunately, in the first movement, the commanders of the troops, who were attacking the intrenchments and redoubts, were wounded. While these events were passing, the French forces arrived in aid of the English. The siege artillery of these last was placed in position on the field of battle, and it was no longer possible for

our field-pieces to contend with it to advantage. The numerical superiority of the enemy's infantry, armed with rifles, occasioned great losses in horses, artillerymen and infantry officers.

"This circumstance made it impossible for us to complete, except by a great sacrifice of troops, the redoubts which during the fighting we had begun to throw upon points which the enemy's position commanded, even as far as the town of Sebastopol itself.

"The retreat was effected in good order on Sebastopol and over the bridge of Inkermann, and the dismounted guns were carried off the field of battle back into their place.

"The Grand Dukes Nicholas Nicholaïévitch and Michael Nicholaïévitch were in the midst of this terrible fire, setting an example of calm courage in the fight.

"Simultaneously with this sortie the infantry regiment of Minsk, with a light battery of artillery, under the command of the Major-General of Artillery, Timofeieff, executed another sortie against the French batteries, and spiked fifteen of their guns.

"Our loss in dead is not yet exactly known, but the number of the wounded amounts to 3500 men and 109 officers. Among the latter there are:—Lieutenant-General Solmonoff shot through the body, and who soon sank beneath the effects of his wound: the Major-Generals Villebois and Centerlone; the Colonels Alexandroff, commanding the infantry regiment of Catherinebourg; Poustevoitoff, commanding the infantry regiment of Tomsk; Bibikoff, commanding the Okhotsk Chasseurs; Baron Delwig, commanding the infantry regiment of Vladimir; and Véreuvkine-Schéluta II., commanding the regiment of Borodino Chasseurs.

"Major General Kischinsky, Chief of the Artillery, received a contusion from the splinter of a bomb; Major-General Prince Menschikoff, in the suite of your Imperial Majesty, was hurt in the neck; Colonel Albédensky, the Aide-de-Camp of your Imperial Majesty, and the cavalry captain, Greigh, my Aide-de-Camp, were struck on the head.

"General Dannenberg had two horses killed under him, and all the persons surrounding him were wounded.

"The loss of the enemy cannot have been less considerable either, and the sortie of General Timefeieff cost the French dear, for, whilst pursuing him with dense masses, they fell under a heavy fire of grape from the bastion No. 6.

"Whilst these movements were going on, the troops placed under the command of Prince Gortschakoff executed a strong demonstration against Kadikoi, and thus kept the enemy's detachment at Balaklava in a state of inaction."

List of officers killed at the battle of Inkermann:—Lieut. Gen. Sir George Cathcart, G. C. B., Brigd.-Gen. I. L. Goldie, Lieut. Col. C. I. Seymour, staff; Lieut. W. H. Dowling, 20th regt.; Lieut. H. J. K. Hurt, 21st; Capt. E. Stanley, 57th; Lieut. Col. E. S. I. Swyny, Lieut. G. C. W. Curtois, Ensign J. H. Cutterbuck, 68rd; Major H. G. Wynn, Lieut. F. G. Barker, 68th; Capt. A. A. Cartwright, 1st Bat. Rifle Brigade; Lieut. Henry Thorold, 33rd; Capt. James Ker, 19th; Capt. J. Nicholson, 77th; Lieut. L. W. Malcolm, 2nd Bat. Rifle Brigade; Lieut. W. G. Dashwood, 50th; Cornet Archibald Cleveland, 17th Lancers; Brigd.-Gen. T. Fox Strangways, Major P. Townsend, Royal Artillery; Capt. H. I. Butler, staff; Lieut.-Col. E. W. Pakenham, Capt. R. L. Newman, Bart., Capt. Hon. H. A. Neville, 3rd Bat. Grenadier Guards; Lieut.-Col. Hon. T. V. Dawson, Lieut.-Col. J. C. Cowell, Capt. Hon. G. C. C. Eliot, Capt. H. F. Ramsden, Capt. L. D. Mackinnon, Capt. H. M. Bouverie, Lieut.-Col. H. Greville, Lieut. Disbrowe, 1st. Bat. Coldstream Guards; Capt. W. K. Allix, staff; Capt. A. Conolly, Lieut. A. Gibson, 30th; Lieut.-Col. G. Carpenter, Capt. E. Richards, Lieut. A. Lalor, Lieut. J. W. Swaby, Lieut. J. Stirling, 41st; Major T. N. Dalton, Lieut. B. S. Armstrong, 49th, &c., &c.

There were also 103 officers wounded, some severely, and others slightly.

Mournful was the duty performed on the 6th of November—English, French, Russians, all were carrying away the wounded and burying their dead, so far as the possibility of doing so presented itself. Yawning pits were dug, thirty or forty feet deep by nearly as much in breadth, and in these the mutilated dead bodies were laid as closely as they could be packed—

the only soldiers' grave practicable at such a time. It was a sad and painful duty to Lord Raglan to attend the funeral of his general officers—Cathcart, Strangways, Goldie, and others—who were interred with such military honours as the occasion permitted. But even at such a time of mourning, when the ferocity of combatants is usually allayed, the atrocities of the Russians were renewed. Ambulances, arabas, and vehicles of all kinds, were employed by the British to convey their wounded down to Balaklava; and upon these vehicles, as upon the British burying-parties, the Russian ships in the harbour maintained an unceasing fire of shells. Lord Raglan sent in a flag of truce to Prince Menschikoff, complaining of this departure from all the honourable rules of war, and also of the stabbing of the wounded, which the Russians had systematically adopted on the previous day. Prince Menschikoff sent a reply, partly denying, partly justifying, and partly deploring the alleged conduct; but it remained too evident that the Russian soldiery, roused to a state of maddened excitement by drink and by priestly fanaticism, had been encouraged to regard the Allies as infidels, whom it would be a praise-worthy action in the eyes of Heaven to kill.

Thus terminated the Battle of Inkermann.

Little more than a week had elapsed after the sanguinary conflict at Inkermann had ended, ere the troops on shore, and the vessels and crews on the Black Sea, had another kind of foe to contend against—the elements waged war in a furious manner against them, and caused much havoc in loss of life and property.

Stern as is the Black Sea in winter, murky its atmosphere, piercing its cold, violent its winds, and turbulent its waves, there has rarely been known a tempest equal in frightful fury to that which raged in those regions on the 14th of November, 1854; bringing pitiless destruction to ships and mariners, strewing the coast with fragments of vessels and disrupted cargoes of valuable merchandise, and adding manifold to the

discomforts of those who, by the exigencies of war, were living in camps and tents.

Early in the morning of that day, when light had barely dawned, the officers and men encamped on the plateau outside Sebastopol, found the strength of their canvass tents exposed to a severe test. The night had been one of heavy rain: the surface of the plateau had been converted into a sort of slime, through which walking was difficult; and rivulets of muddy water found an entrance into almost every tent, and disarranged every man's bedroom comforts. Gradually the rain abated and the wind arose, rushing over the plateau with a roar as of a distant cannonade; until at length, overcoming all obstacles, the wind pierced into and under and around the tents, in many cases blowing them away altogether. The slimy compost on the outside, receiving the full action of the blast, was hurled into the faces of the tentless soldiers, producing a scene of unutterable discomfort. Some of the tent-poles snapping in the middle, the officers and men were for a time buried beneath a load of wet canvass; and when, rudely disturbed in their morning slumbers, and deprived of all shelter from the murky heavens above them, they looked around on the plateau, the scene presented was frightful, even though mingled in some cases with the ludicrous. The storm, having no respect for rank or office, had levelled alike the tent of the staff-officer and that of the subaltern: the strongest was on that day the best, by whomsoever possessed. Officers, high in rank, were to be seen wildly struggling with the flapping canvass of their overturned tents, or rushing about in almost hopeless attempts to save their apparel, books, or other chattels, from the fury of the wind. There were a few huts near head-quarters; and such of these as escaped prostration were speedily sought by tentless officers, who—saturated with miry water, and almost riven by the piercing blast—rushed to find shelter from the storm.

The recitals given of this scene, by the newspaper

correspondents, officers, and privates, were full of strange incidents. "The principal medical officer of the British army might be seen in an unusual state of perturbation, seeking for his garments, ere he took to flight. Brigadier ——, with mien for once disturbed, held on, as sailors say, 'like grim death to a backstay,' by one of the shrouds of his marquée. Captain ——, in drawers and shirt, was tearing through the rain and through the dirt like a maniac after a cap, which he fancied was his own, and which he found after a desperate run, was his sergeant's." Many of the narrators say that the air was filled with blankets, hats, great coats, little coats, and even tables and chairs; that mackintoshes, quilts, India-rubber tubs, bed-clothes, sheets of tent-canvas, went whirling like leaves in the gale towards Sebastopol; that the shingle roofs of the outhouses were torn away, and scattered over the camp; that large arabas or waggons and ambulances were overturned; that men and horses were knocked down, and rolled over and over; that a large and heavy table in one of the tents was lifted off the ground, and whirled round and round till the leaf flew off; that inside the commissariat-yard, overturned carts, dead horses, and groups of shivering men were seen, not a tent standing; and that "Lord —— was seen for hours sitting up to his knees in sludge amid the wreck of his establishment, meditative as Marius amid the ruins of Carthage." The power of the hurricane was indeed great. Heavy commissariat stores were hurled down as if they had been light parcels; compressed masses of hay for the cavalry, weighing 200 pounds each, were whirled over the ground, and down the ravine towards Sebastopol; and a large flock of sheep was so utterly scattered, that, while some of the poor animals were driven to distant camps, others were almost literally hurled into the beleaguered city.

But what were the miseries of the officers compared with that the common soldiers had to contend

against. These poor fellows, the most of them engaged in camp, picket or trench duties, were exposed to all the rigours of the hurricane; and when they returned from those duties—worn and haggard with fatigue—they found the tents blown down, and no shelter whatever to cover their wearied bodies.

The soldiers' letters were full of strange recitals. An Enniskilling dragoon wrote: "I was on trumpeter's guard at the time the storm came across the plain, accompanied with hailstones and snow; and it blew all our tents down. The only way to keep still was to lie down; I did so for fear of being borne among the dirt. You may think in what sort of a state our tents were, as, after it was all over, we had to lie down that night on the wet ground without anything to eat, the cooks being unable to keep the fires in." A private soldier wrote thus: "Lieutenant —— had just come in from night-duty. I had got him to bed comfortably, when down came his tent, and left the poor fellow stark naked. I had to carry him away with only a blanket around him, and he remained in that state all day, but he bore it remarkably well. Lieutenant —— was blown away on his bedstead. The doctor's cocked-hat was blown right into Sebastopol, so we expect to find it on the head of Prince Menschikoff when we get there." A rifleman, on the heights above Balaklava, thus records his experience of that memorable day: "We had such a terrible gale that our tents were all blown down, and many blown over the cliffs into the sea; the one in which I stopped shared such a fate. * * It was a fearful night that we passed; every now and again might be seen men rubbing one another as the cramps took them in different parts of the body. The night was long, but morning broke at last; and it was found that two of our poor fellows were dead from sheer exhaustion." Another soldier said: "In spite of all these misfortunes, every man made light of it until the hospital marquée went down; it was dreadful to see sick and wounded men

actually blown away." An officer, after describing his brother-officers as wandering about, drenched to the skin, in search of shelter, as a consequence of the demolition of their tents, says: "All the tents have been struck, as nothing could withstand the tempest, except the Turkish; these infidels understand tent-work better than we civilised folk." This, from various concurrent testimonies, appears indeed to be the case. A Turkish tent, although not constructed of such good material as an English bell-tent, resists the wind much more effectually and stands more steadily; on account, possibly, of a better proportion of its height to its circumference; the men dig about a foot deep and throw the earth round on the sides, where it serves to steady the whole tent, and prevents at the same time the water from penetrating; in the officers' tents, there is also a raised settee of stamped earth, available as a couch.

The effects of the hurricane were, however, felt most severely by the naval department of the Allied forces; numerous wrecks strewing the coast, many lives being lost, and much valuable property destroyed. The following account was given by one who was on board one of the vessels:—

"The first mishap which occurred in the anchorage off the Katscha (where the Commander-in-Chief was stationed, and the larger number of the Allied vessels) was to her Majesty's ship *Samson*, which, together with other steamers, had got up steam the moment the gale began. About half-past seven a.m. it began to blow up fearfully, many old sailors saying they had never seen it blow so before. Two transports were lying ahead of the *Samson*; No. 20 being a little ahead of No. 1. About nine a.m. we observed No. 20 part and fall athwart-hawse of No. 1. both bowsprits and cutwaters getting smashed, and then they both drove on top of the *Samson*. The *Samson* being close we could see everything. They turned their hands up and went ahead, full speed, seemingly to separate the transports,

which was done; No. 20 passing on the port side of the *Samson* and bringing up just under her stern, and there smashing the stern boats, bulwarks, &c. No. 1 fell athwart-hawse the *Samson*, and topped her bowsprit right up and in on her forecastle. Shortly after, the transport's foremast fell, and was followed by the *Samson's* foremast falling against her mainmast, mainmast against her mizenmast, and she lay a wreck. No. 20 was under her stern with her foremast gone, and No. 1 drifted astern, where she brought up. Both Nos. 20 and 1, about an hour after, drove and went on the shore, followed by Nos. 31, 57, and 89 transports, together with the Maltese barque *Lisle Aclam* and five or six small brigs—in all, making fourteen wrecks on the beach on Wednesday. We could see the Cossacks come down and take the crews of one or two prisoners, as well as pick up anything of value on the beach and load their horses.

"At ten o'clock on Tuesday morning a small French brig stranded near the mouth of the Katscha, and from this time till darkness hid the scene from view, a series of terrible disasters followed each other in quick succession. Fortunately, the shore in the neighbourhood of the river is terminated by a sandy beach; hence here we have not had to deplore the loss of life as well as property. At one p.m. her Majesty's ship *Terrible* parted all her anchors, and the cry rose to every tongue, 'The *Terrible* will be on shore,' but gradually the noble ship faced round to the wind, and passed majestically out through the fleet. The wind, perhaps, was at its utmost height about 10.30; but after successive squalls, accompanied by sleet and hail, it passed to W.S.W. and W., from which none of our anchorages on the Crimean coast afford any shelter; and an awful rolling sea then set in, during which the English transports *Rodsley* and *Tyrone*, a Maltese brig, and four more small French transports, went on shore. Meanwhile hordes of Cossacks and cavalry hovered round the wrecks, and, as each of the smaller

vessels was thrown up, were seen occupied in examining what the chances of the sea and war had sent them. The French sailors could be seen from the ships, led off towards Sebastopol with horsemen before and behind them. Our transports, from their greater burden, were at some distance from the shore; and the Cossacks rode backwards and forwards regarding them as the hungry fox did some grapes in the days of Æsop. Soon after midnight its force was broken, and men thanked God, for neither hemp nor iron could have stood such a strain much longer. But the sea continued as heavy as ever during the darkness, which was only broken by the lurid flash of cannon over Sebastopol, showing that the war of the elements had been powerless to suspend that of men. The grey dawn showed that to the disasters of the previous day had been added that of another transport, No. 89, *Lord Raglan*, and that the Egyptian line-of-battle ship, which still remained, had been compelled, during the night, to cut away her fore and mizenmast, and had also lost her bowsprit. Daylight also showed the inland hills covered with snow. In the course of the morning the transports on shore made signals of distress to the Admiral, who ordered the *Fury* to weigh; she, however, signalled that communication was yet impossible, on account of the surf; but, in the afternoon, the sea had gone down sufficiently to attempt their relief, although the effort was still attended with much danger. The Cossacks had been busy during the day, and they made one or two attempts even to swim off to our transports; but were carried back by the surf, aided by a knock or two on the head from our merchant sailors, who by no means relished the idea of a Christmas in Sebastopol. One gentleman in a carriage drove down to the beach near the *Tyrone*, and, in good English, exhorted the sailors to make a trial of Muscovite forbearance. 'We, too,' said he, suiting the action to the word, 'have hearts as well as the English.' The reply was what somebody calls John Bull's great everlasting 'No!' ac-

companied by certain rather strong adjectives. No fire had been opened on the enemy during the day from the fleet, and it was determined not to do so till they proceeded to overt acts of hostility. About four p.m., volunteer boats from the *Queen*, *Rodney*, *London*, and some steamers, pulled in, and the *Firebrand* got under way to cover them. On seeing them approaching, the Cossacks drew up on the cliff, and fired on the boats, killing a man belonging to the *Queen*. This fire was immediately returned from the steamer, and they at once scurried off. The surf prevented the crews being rescued till the morning of the 16th, when they were recovered by the boats of the *Firebrand* and other steamers, after having, in one of the ships, fired a parting salvo at the Russians with cartridges which had been collected from the field of Alma.

"The tempest commenced at Balaklava about seven o'clock in the morning of the 14th, and in two hours eleven transports had been wrecked and six dismasted and rendered unfit for service. The most terrible disaster was the total loss of the new magnificent steamship *Prince*, which had arrived a few days previously, with the 46th regiment and a cargo valued at £500,000, and indispensably necessary for the prosecution of the siege and the comfort of the army. The loss of the *Prince* seems to have been partly owing to the negligence of her officers. When she arrived at Balaklava she let go one of her anchors in thirty fathoms of water. It appears that the cable had never been clinched, and the whole of it ran out; anchor and cable were lost together. She then let go another anchor, the cable of which was so inefficiently fastened that she lost this also. She then steamed out to sea until she could get up another cable from her hold, and at last let go a smaller anchor, with which she rode until the tempest broke upon her on Tuesday morning. An eye-witness saw her carried from her moorings on to the rocks with such force that in ten minutes there was hardly a piece a yard long remaining. She might almost be

said to go to powder. Of a crew of 150 only six were saved. This splendid vessel, of 2600 tons, was purchased by Government some time since, and sent out full of most valuable stores and munitions of war. Everything is lost. With the exception of the troops everything remained in her at the time she was dashed on the rocks. The whole of the winter clothing for the men went down—40,000 suits of clothes, with under-garments, socks, gloves, and a multitude of other articles of the kind; vast quantities of shot and shell; and, not least in consequence, the medical stores sent out in consequence of the deficiencies which formerly existed.

"A first glance at Eupatoria after the storm showed that it had suffered even more than the Katscha. True, the *Bellerophon* and *Leander* rode it out, but the total wreck of an Egyptian line of battle ship, and near the beach the tricolour floating mournfully over the *Henri Quatre*—strong and erect as ever, but never again to carry the flag of France to victory—as well as the stranded transports in front and to the southward of the town told a dreary story. In front lay the stranded remains of five French merchant vessels; just beyond it, along the sandy isthmus, between the sea and Lake Sasik, lay what three days before were strong and well-found ships, in the following order, commencing from the town:—No. 81, *Georgiana*; No. 61, *Harbinger*; French Government screw-steamer *Pluto*; No. 3, *Her Majesty*; No. 55, *Glendalaugh*; a small French steamer; No. 53, *Asia*; an Egyptian two-decker; *Henri Quatre*, 100 guns. All these ships, with the exception of the two line-of-battle ships, were stranded during the day. The *Henri Quatre* parted after the force of the gale was spent; but when the sea was heaviest, shortly after six in the evening, she went on shore without any damage, and no doubt might have been recovered in better times. The Egyptian was a perfect wreck; she also stranded during the night. The *Sea Nymph* foundered during a heavy

squall in the day. The enemy took advantage of the gale by advancing on Eupatoria with about 6000 cavalry and twelve field-pieces; they were, however, warmly received with such a heavy fire, both of guns and rockets, that they retired with a loss of about 100 killed and wounded. Our loss amounted to only two men wounded. Lieutenant Hood of H. M. *Arethusa*, was in command of the battery which repulsed this formidable assault."

When the frightful losses occasioned by the November hurricane became known in England, great alarm was reasonably felt; for the very existence of the Allied army in the Crimea depended on the conveyance of supplies across this stormy sea during the winter months. The loss of human life during the tempest—English, French, and Turkish—was little under 1000 souls; the vessels wrecked or rendered useless were more than forty in number, besides many more seriously injured; the property lost was worth many millions sterling; but all these losses would sink into insignificance, compared with those likely to result from any inability on the part of the transport-ships to convey troops and ammunition, food and clothing, huts and tents, fuel and medicines, to the armies encamped on the bleak, cheerless inhospitable plateau between Balaklava and Sebastopol. And even if such voyages were possible, the calamity that had befallen the *Prince* showed only too clearly how necessary would be some better organisation of the service at Balaklava, to insure a due reception of the reinforcements and supplie sent out from England.

CHAPTER IX.

WINTER LIFE IN THE CRIMEA—DREADFUL SUFFERINGS OF THE BRITISH—SICK AND WOUNDED—MISS NIGHTINGALE, AND THE HOSPITAL NURSES AT SCUTARI—BRITISH SYMPATHY AND PHILANTHROPY—BALAKLAVA RAILWAY—OPERATIONS AT EUPATORIA—SIEGE OF SEBASTOPOL.

WHEN the British troops left the shores of England in the early part of 1854, few of them probably imagined that they would have to endure the rigours of winter in the Crimea;—and none perhaps ever dreamed that they would have to undergo such terrible sufferings as fell to their lot during those dreary months. Bravely had they maintained their prestige on the battle-field in their conflicts with the Muscovite foe;—and as bravely did they struggle and endure the contest with sickness and privation, which during the winter assailed them with relentless fury. Honoured be the names of those who had nobly fought and bled and died in this just war! And honoured be the survivors, who patiently and uncomplainingly passed through the severe ordeal which befel the remnant of the British legions in the Crimea in the winter of 1854-5.

A series of causes had been leading to one result, viz. the inevitable necessity of the Allied armies encamping during the bleak months of winter on the elevated plateau outside of Sebastopol. Privations had already commenced; but those which had been experienced were trifling to what were yet to be borne. Balaklava was the depôt for every kind of commodity; the dilapidated houses in the main street being occupied by dealers, who obtained their supplies from Constantinople, Varna, and elsewhere. These dealers were prin-

cipally Greeks, Jews, and Maltese, who brought together a miscellaneous stock of articles at an exorbitant price. This wretched street was crowded from side to side with ordnance-carriages, strings of dragoon horses carrying forage to the camp, trains of mules bearing commissariat supplies, rows of high-wheeled carts similarly employed, flocks of sheep newly landed, pack-horses bearing officers' kits and trunks, Turks carrying the dead bodies of their comrades to a neighbouring cemetery, and a menagerie of horses, donkeys, mules, and dromedaries, variously engaged as beasts of burden or of draught. Officers were glad enough to act as their own servants at such a time, if they could only effect purchases that might enable them to carry up a miscellaneous store of domestic necessaries or comforts in their saddle-bags and holsters to the camp. A still more miry alley, branching out of the miry street, led to the post-office—a tenement sought by many a beating heart, anxious for news from England. It frequently happened that provisions were landed in the wet, stacked in the mud, and remained until half spoiled, before hands could be found to carry them up to the camp; and it was saddening to see the condition of those who occasionally acted as porters on such occasions; "the very ragged, gaunt, hungry-looking men," as one officer described them, "with matted beards and moustaches, features grimed with dirt, and torn great-coats stiff with successive layers of mud—these men, whose whole appearance speaks toil and suffering, and who instantly remind you of the very lowest and most impoverished class of the Irish peasantry—are the picked soldiers from our different foot-regiments, strong men selected to carry up provisions for the rest of the camp."

The severest miseries experienced at this time and place were those which the Turks had to undergo. Ever since their cowardly conduct at Balaklava, these unfortunate creatures had to endure, besides much other suffering, the scorn and contempt of the British

soldiery; and, finding no comfort or favour at the camp, they made the little village their rendezvous. Dirty and filthy in their personal habits, neglected by the Ottoman government, and despised by their Allies, the Turks contracted the seeds of disease which made Balaklava a very pest-house; a typhoid fever, of a virulent and malignant character, sweeping them down with desolating rapidity. How the unhappy wretches existed at all is inexplicable; there was no commissariat for them at Balaklava, and they had scarcely any other resource but begging and stealing, until the British were in a manner compelled to provide for them; but even then, as the storm had committed such havoc among our own supplies, there was little indeed to spare for those miserable beings.

The road from Balaklava to the camp was in a most wretched condition, being frequently on wet days a complete puddle, so that the beasts of burden engaged in carrying supplies, sunk deep in the mud at every step, and many were the mishaps which occurred in consequence. Numbers of mules and other beasts of burden were landed, but there being a deficiency of forage, the poor animals had to suffer starvation and death, without help. The reinforcements which arrived at Balaklava were often in a miserable plight in their march to the camp for want of the stores requisite for their support. The 63rd landed at Balaklava near the end of November, and were ordered up to the front to relieve the over-wrought troops in the trenches. The length and nature of their march was thus described in a letter by one of the officers:—"We marched up the road through the valley where the cavalry action took place on the 25th of October; the road was most dreadful, up to the knees in mud, and encumbered with dead bodies of mules, bullocks, and horses. What a sight this place would be for some enthusiastic member of the Humane Society! French and Turkish troops were marching in every direction, arabas laden with provisions to supply the wants of

the immense army surrounding the place. Well, we proceeded on as best we could through the mud till dark, and to every inquiry how far the 3rd division was, 'Five miles' was the invariable answer. As it became perfectly dark, we began to suspect that our guide, an orderly of the 13th Dragoons, did not know much about the country. At last, we reached a French camp, and asked them where the English were. They guided us to a camp, and, to our great dismay, we found we were among the light division, on the extreme right of the whole position, about four miles beyond our camp. As it could not be helped, we turned to the right-about, and again went on; out of 120 men, not more than thirty remained with us, and, if it had not been for shame, I should have laid down too. * * At last, we reached our camp about eight o'clock, after having, by our wanderings, converted a march of six miles into nearly twenty."

The clothing of the troops began to show the effects of the arduous duties the men were called to fulfil in the trenches; many of them were in shreds and tatters, and besmeared with gravel and miry clay. Their shoes and boots also were, in many instances, worn-out; and the men had to traverse the sludgy roads many of them without shoes, or in such as let in water in many places.

A mournful but instructive paragraph might be made up by a selection from those parts of the soldiers' simple and truthful letters bearing upon their war-worn garments. A sergeant said: "Half the regiment were in tatters; no one ever saw such miserable creatures in soldiers' clothes before, for trousers and everything were all sorts of patches, and many of the men had not had a clean shirt for a month." One of the Guards, who had fought so gallantly at Alma and Inkermann, thus wrote to his mother: "I am wearing my clothing that I have worn for two years; my red jacket I mended with a piece of black stuff; the trousers that I am wearing are my pipe-clay whites,

and it is twice as cold as it is in England. Our officers pity us, to see the miserable state we are in." A marine, on the heights above Balaklava, wrote: "I have not had my clothes off to sleep since I have been here, and I shan't if we stop for six months. I should like you just to see my 'mug;' I have not had a shave these ten weeks, and I get a wash once in three or four days." A trooper in the light dragoons, writing to his mother, said: "I am at this moment without a shirt on my back, and no boots to my feet, only a pair of highlows, and they are very little protection to my feet where there is much mud and water; and only one flannel shirt, one pair of drawers, and one pair of socks, and these I had to take off a dead man, or I should have had to go without; it was no harm, as the poor fellow would never want them again, or else, you may depend upon it, I should not have done it; at once I should have shuddered at the bare idea." A rifleman wrote: "Our men are clothed in smocks made by themselves from blankets; leggings also ornament them, made from the same material, some from old sacking; and some have none of this, but still wear what is left of our old clothing. Fancy our regiment paraded in such different costumes; it would be a grand parade in Hyde Park!" With such details did the poor fellows fill their letters, written towards the close of the year.

It would extend this volume far too much were minute details given of the various kinds of suffering endured by the troops throughout the winter. In addition to exhausting labour and deficient clothing, the men had many times to go short of sufficient food; this arising in a great measure from the want of the transport service. The cavalry horses were, according to the testimony of an artillery officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Hamley, in a wretched condition. He states that the surviving horses of the Scots Greys, long-haired, bony, spiritless, and soiled with mire, preserved no trace of their former beauty. Dying and

dead horses lay scattered around the artillery and cavalry camps, and on the Balaklava road—struck down by fatigue, cold, or starvation. Once down, a horse seldom rose again: after a few feeble attempts, he would lie still, nibbling at the bare ground; then he would fall over on his side, and, stretching out his legs, would so end his career, leaving a smooth space in the mud where his head and neck had moved slowly to and fro, or where his hind-legs had scratched convulsively before he died. Sometimes an ownerless horse, lame and unserviceable, would linger about the neighbourhood of an encampment; day after day he would be there, patiently waiting, wondering why no corn or hay was given him; getting thinner and thinner, he obtained no relief, for each trooper had insufficient fodder for his own horse; he dropped and died a lingering death, unless, perchance, some friendly bullet put a quicker end to his sufferings. Swollen and bloated carcasses would be seen at one spot; while at another would appear the remains of a horse, whence all but the bones and skin had been removed by ferocious dogs.

Towards the end of November, cholera broke out a second time among the poor fellows, striking down nearly a hundred in one night, and the miseries of the suffering troops were redoubled; for increased comforts and necessaries were wanted, at the very time when fewer hands were obtainable as carriers; the depôts became so exhausted that the army was literally dependent for its daily bread on Balaklava: if supplies had not been carried up every day without interruption, the privations must have been greatly augmented.

The British troops marched, as has been stated, from their landing-place in the Crimea to Balaklava without their tents—bivouacking under circumstances of discomfort that laid the foundation for many a fatal disorder. The tents reached them gradually on the plateau in front of Sebastopol; but these tents, too few in number, and often defective in quality, became

wretched domiciles even before the rains and tempests of November began; what they became afterwards, experience too painfully manifested. The French began to render their tented homes comfortable long before their Allies had any materials for so doing; and shortly before the November storm, many of them ingeniously constructed residences partially under ground—that is, they dug shallow pits, and thatched them over with twigs and branches. The British could not have adopted this plan, even if they had possessed the ingenuity so to apply their hands, for the ground on the part of the plateau occupied by them was too hard: they were dependent, in the first instance, on no other covering than that of the blue vault above them; then upon tents admitting rain-water as through a sieve; and then, after a long interval, upon wooden huts. But here at once arose a difficulty lamentable and vexatious;-the timber was near at hand, but means were wanting for conveyance up to the camp. After the hurricane, the shores were strewn with the remains of wrecked ships, available in many cases for hut-building; and towards the close of the month, supplies of prepared timber arrived; but in the one case as in the other, the deficiency of beasts of burden rendered it a work of enormous difficulty to transport the timbers to the necessary spot.

Of all the calamities which the troops had to struggle with, that of trench-duties was the most testing and destructive to the constitution; and the trenches being in many instances too shallow, when tall men stood upright they were in great danger of having their heads split by shot which was continually flying from the guns of the enemy. And these tall men had no other method of escaping this danger, than by kneeling or lying down in the water and slush for hours together. It was not unfrequent for the men to be marched to the trenches at four o'clock in the afternoon, and there remain sixteen hours, exposed to rain and snow during the whole period; and to take this duty on al-

ternate days. One of the regiments sent out to reinforce the army, landed at Balaklava in the rain, marched up the wretched road in the rain, pitched tents in the rain, slept on the wet ground, and took trench-duty in the rain on the next night: as a consequence, nearly one-third of the men were dead or disabled within ten days. Of the 46th regiment, seven men died in the trenches on the first night. The poor fellows engaged in these nightly duties compared their position with that of the French, and bitterly felt how unfavourable was the contrast.

The general burden of the soldiers' letters, relating to the nights in the trenches and pickets, may be readily inferred. One, not a mere private, but an officer, wrote: "I was myself on picket the day before yesterday, for twenty-four hours; this morning I was on a working-party in the trenches from four o'clock until the same hour in the afternoon: and to-morrow I am on picket again: now, what manner of man, think you, can stand this?" An officer of the Royals told how that in one week, about Christmas, he was sent out to repel a Russian sortie towards midnight, and returned to camp at four in the morning on the next day; a few hours afterwards, he went on picket to a place against which the Russians maintained a warm fire during the night; returning to camp at seven in the morning of the third day, he went in the evening to guard the ammunition reserve, where he remained until ten o'clock on the following morning; at four o'clock on this, the fourth day, he was sent in charge of a working-party in the left siege-train; after nine hours' service, he returned to the camp in the dead of the night, saturated with wet, and then had to delay his rest until, in the early morn of the fifth day, he had read the burial-service over two unfortunates who had died in the trenches. Another officer in the same regiment wrote proudly but mournfully of his men: "They drag on to the trenches while they can scarcely stand, and take a pride in never shirking or casting their duty on

others." Truly might he say: "It is very wearisome trying to walk about in slush for twelve hours at a time: indeed the young hands cannot do it; they sit or lie down in the wet, get cramps, and are carried to the hospital, where they die; the old soldiers know their only chance is to keep moving about, which they do while they can stand."

The number of sick and wounded in the camp hospital increased daily; and, to add to the misery of the sufferers and the dilemma of the medical men, there were no medical stores to administer to the patients. There were no proper vehicles to convey the sick from the camp to Balaklava; for, although there were ambulances, yet there were no horses, and therefore the ambulances were useless. Hence the camp hospital became full to repletion. A surgeon of the 63rd regiment, examined by the Sebastopol Committee, stated that in the first instance there were no regulations whatever for the removal of the sick from the camp to Balaklava, and that even when such rules were laid down, they became at once cumbrous and unmanageable. Being himself ill, this witness had been recommended by his superior medical officer to go for a time to Balaklava, and had obtained from him a properly signed recommendation to that effect; this recommendation required to be counter-signed by the quarter-master-general, then by the colonel of the regiment, then by the general of the division, and, finally, by the adjutant-general; but while undergoing this complex process it was lost, for the person in whose behalf it was drawn up never saw it again. The paper had been six days travelling about the camp, under the curse of formalism: during which time the sick surgeon was enforced to bear his sickness as he best he might.

When it was determined, with the assent of the sultan, to establish a British military hospital at Scutari, a portion of the barracks was set aside for this purpose. So immense was this building, that one side of

the square and half of another could afford accommodation for 3500 invalids, besides seven hundred in the Turkish hospital attached to the barracks. If the entire structure had been similarly appropriated, it could have received 6000 sick men; and, being on a height, it was healthily situated.

Many accusations were made by anonymous correspondents in different newspapers against the army surgeons, charging them with unfeeling conduct towards their patients, and utter neglect and indifference to the urgent cases of the sufferers. Many of these accusations were most probably utterly groundless.

"O war, war, how doest thou in thy utter bitterness of trial curse our race! Sowing penalties and pains broadcast over our living soul, heaping up more of poverty on the very poor, deriding the widow in her bereavement, making her childless; casting on them who only in hopes are wives, pangs as bitter as those of widows; thou begettest orphans; in the very wantonness of thy cruelty seekest victims from every other class; reckless of all social distinction, levelling all to one condition—that of the heart-broken and desolate: men crown thy triumphs with laurel—the cypress of the cemetery, the yew of the village church-yard, these are the real emblems of thy accursed work."

Thus wrote the Rev. S. G. Osborne, one among many Englishmen who—doubting whether it were possible that such miseries could have beset the Crimean army as were from time to time communicated to the public journals—resolved to test the verity of the statements by personal observation. He went out to visit, not the troops at the camp, but the sick and wounded at the Scutari hospitals, near which he took up his residence from the 8th of November until the approach of Christmas. Gladly did two of the English ministers, the Earl of Clarendon and Mr. Sidney Herbert, afford him facilities for his visit. Gross as was the mismanagement somewhere, no reflecting person could countenance the charges of deliberate cruel-

ty and neglect hastily brought against these and other leading statesmen: none would more willingly have re-ordered and improved the rickety machine of departmental government; but, unfortunately, such ameliorations can ill be effected in the midst of the calamities that suggest them.

Mr. Osborne's picture of the dread terrors of war arose, not merely from the sight of wounds and death, but also from the terrible augmentation of suffering caused by defective arrangements. The hospital noticed in a former paragraph was the first established for the use of the British forces; but towards Christmas, the number had increased to five—the General Hospital, the Barrack Hospital, two Floating Hospitals, and a Naval Hospital. The General Hospital and the Barrack Hospital were those to which the greatest importance attached during the winter.

Mr. Osborne carefully examined these hospitals at Scutari, and published a work entitled "Scutari and its Hospitals," wherein he freely animadverted on many defects in the conducting of these establishments; and suggested emendations. He made comparisons between the English and French mode of managing these institutions, and gave the meed of praise to our Allies, for the manner in which they treated their sick and wounded. Mr. O. gives a dismal picture of the arrival of a cargo of invalids, at the landing-place at Scutari. "I have seen," said he, "the bodies of the dead, stores for the living, munitions of war, sick men staggering from weakness, wounded men helpless on stretchers, invalid orderlies waiting to act as bearers, oxen yoked in arabas, officials stiff in uniforms and authority, all in one dense crowd, on this narrow, inconvenient pier, exposed to drenching rain, and so bewildered by the utter confusion, natural and artificial, of the scene, that the transaction of any one duty was quite out of the question." Sometimes the wounded, when landed at the pier, were kept exposed to inclement weather until orderlies, themselves invalids in

process of recovery, in sufficient number, could be obtained to carry them on the stretchers up to the hospital; then, finding the Barrack Hospital to be full, the miserable burdens would be re-shouldered, and jolted half a mile further on to the General Hospital; this also being full, the wretched procession would return, and the sick men would be deposited at the doors and along the passages of the Barrack Hospital, until accommodation could be provided for them, or would be huddled up for hours in a ward without beds. Perhaps the most terrible fact connected with these scenes was, that many of the invalids were literally starved nearly to death; so disgracefully inadequate had been the arrangements for provisioning them during the voyage from the Crimea. Mr. Osborne asserted, that although he had seen much of misery and starvation in Ireland and in the East, he had never seen such gaunt skeletons as some of those who, a few short months earlier, had been the gallant guardsmen of the Household Brigade.

In consequence of the dismal accounts which reached England of the state of the sick and wounded troops in the East, public sympathy was roused in their behalf, and remedial measures were immediately resorted to. The first suggestions pointed to the establishment of a supernumerary medical staff; a second assumed a new form: the truth was recognised that woman is the best nurse for the sick, the best comforter in the hour of suffering. One lady recommended that nurses should be selected from the Sisters of Charity in Catholic countries; another source of female aid was sketched in the following words:—"We have the soldiers' wives who are left here dependent on the public charity; why should not the most intelligent of them be selected—say six or eight, from the regiments to which their husbands belong, and be immediately sent for a few weeks' practice into our hospitals at home? There these women could be taught the way to wash and dress light wounds, and attend on the sick, under

the direction of the doctors; and, as soon as they are competent, let them be sent for hospital-service to the East."

The plan or proposal which was followed by the most practical result, was contained in a letter to the Bishop of London, from the Rev. Mr. Shepherd, Master of St. John's House in Westminster, a kind of sisterhood of Protestant ladies devoted to acts of kindness and charity; he proposed that ladies from that house should go out as a hospital-nurses, with no other fee or reward than the consciousness of doing good to suffering and neglected men. The plan speedily assumed form and working-order; ladies offered their services, not only from St. John's House, but from other places in and out of London. The next duty was, to provide a superior, gouvernant, or matron; one who should have a moral and practical control over the nurses or nursing-sisters, and at the same time should be placed in some definite relation towards the medical authorities of the hospitals—the latter claiming of course a controlling voice in all the arrangements. The Duke of Newcastle, as minister of war, had this subject under his attention throughout the summer; the military authorities at home had discountenanced the plan of hospital-nurses, on various grounds; but when the miseries of the Scutari hospitals became known in England, and when so many ladies had expressed their willingness to go out as nurses, it was resolved to foster the plan if a superintendent could be found. Through the intervention of Mrs. Sidney Herbert, the lady of the secretary at war, it was ascertained that one eminently fitted was willing to undertake this most trying and responsible office. Miss Florence Nightingale, belonging to a Hampshire family of station and fortune, and richly endowed with natural gifts, developed by an education of more than usually extensive character, and by travelling in various parts of Europe, had, despite the attractions of wealth, birth, and high social connections, already

manifested a yearning to employ her time and services in succour of the sick and wretched. She had tended the poor in the vicinity of her father's abode; she had visited the hospitals and reformatory establishments of London, Edinburgh, and the continent; she had spent three months ministering in a German hospital; and she had voluntarily assumed the management of the asylum for sick governesses in London. And now she accepted the office of superintendent of the hospital-nurses at Scutari. But what an office! Leaving a happy home, with all its genial associations and comforts—closing a door against those social attractions her varied accomplishments enabled her so well to appreciate—departing from the sphere of those whose cultivated minds could give grace and value to conversation—going out to a country wherein every turn spoke of war and slaughter—taking up her abode in a building containing none of her own sex, save those who might accompany her—walking and tending, from morn till night, among hundreds or even thousands of men, uneducated, rough, ragged, bloody, dirty, wounded, sick, hungry, miserable—undertaking painful and laborious duties at a time and place marked by every kind of deficiency in the necessary supplies—placing herself in a position not clearly defined towards the various "authorities" at Scutari—responsible for the conduct of all the nurses who joined her in this noble mission: all these things considered, there has indeed rarely been such an example of heroic daring combined with feminine gentleness. It was well observed, at the time when this tremendous duty was assumed, that—although there is a heroism in dashing up the heights of Alma in defiance of death and all mortal opposition, worthy of all praise and honour—the quiet, forecasting heroism and largeness of heart, in this lady's resolute accumulation of the powers of consolation, must rank yet higher among the qualities that adorn human nature.

Offers of personal assistance poured in so numerously from ladies in various parts of the kingdom, that Mr. Sidney Herbert deemed it necessary, in an explanatory letter, to show how trying were the duties required, and how essential the possession of skill and firmness by the nurses. "Many ladies," he said, "whose generous enthusiasm prompts them to offer their services as nurses, are little aware of the hardships they would have to encounter, and the horrors they would have to witness, which would try the firmest nerves. Were all accepted who offer, I fear we should have not only many inefficient nurses, but many hysterical patients, themselves requiring treatment instead of assisting others." The ladies selected, who departed from London with Miss Nightingale on the 23rd of October, were thirty-eight in number; comprising six from St. John's House, eight from Miss Sellon's house of Sisters at Devonport, ten Roman Catholic Sisters of Charity, and fourteen experienced hospital-nurses. Six weeks afterwards, another party of nearly fifty departed, made up in a similar way. Of those who went out with Miss Nightingale, all were chosen or approved by herself; and each received a certificate from the government, authorising her to occupy a position in the hospitals at Scutari. With one common consent, men of all creeds and countries rendered honour to those ladies for their noble devotedness; Catholics and Protestants alike bade them God-speed at the hour of their departure by railway from London; the authorities at Boulogne prepared a welcome reception for them; the fishwives at that town busily aided in carrying their luggage from the steamer to the station; the railway officials throughout the route from Boulonge to Marseilles paid them marked attention; and the captain and crew of the *Vectis* steamer strove to show how proud they were of such passengers to the East.

Arrived at the hospitals at Scutari, all the romance of their position departed from these ladies: the stern

realities of life—life in its most desperate forms—at once pressed upon their attention; and they bravely prepared for their self-imposed duties. Accommodation was hastily provided for them within a tower at one of the corners of the Barrack Hospital. Mr. and Mrs. Bracebridge, who accompanied the ladies, were enabled to afford them countenance and support in various difficult contingencies likely to arise. They all reached Scutari within twenty-four hours of the first arrival of the wounded from Inkermann, and their services were immediately called into requisition in a way that put their firmness and zeal to a severe test.

The nurses entered on their arduous duties amid many difficulties; Miss Nightingale frequently found her firmness and patience severely tested; and had it not been for the encouragement she invariably received from Lady Stratford de Redcliffe at Constantinople, and the kind aid of Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Osborne, and Mr. Stafford, her sphere of usefulness would have been greatly circumscribed. Her duties were of a very multifarious and onerous nature; for they consisted of nothing less than a remedying, so far as might be possible, of the varied evils resulting from the defects and confusion in the government departments; a rendering of services others ought to have rendered, but did not; a supervision over details so numerous, and complications so vexing, that it is a marvel how a delicately nurtured lady could bear the pressure of such a burden. To administer to the wants of 4000 sick men was a formidable task; but nobly did this devoted friend of suffering humanity fulfil her God-like mission.

Miss Nightingale has earned for herself an imperishable fame; her name will be handed down to posterity, and her deeds of mercy will be the theme of England's matrons to their daughters as long as time shall last. All ranks of people in England vied with each other in sympathy for the sufferers in the camps

and hospitals, and in admiration of the self-denying services of Miss Nightingale. That illustrious lady who so highly adorns the exalted station she is called by Providence to fill as ruler of Great Britain, manifested her interest and sympathy on the subject, as will be perceived by the following letter:

"WINDSOR CASTLE, *December* 6, 1854.

"Would you tell Mrs. Herbert that I begged she would let me see frequently the accounts she receives from Miss Nightingale or Mrs. Bracebridge, as I hear no details of the wounded, though I see so many from officers, &c., about the battle-field, and, naturally, the former must interest me more than any one?

"Let Mrs. Herbert also know that I wish Miss Nightingale and the ladies would tell the poor, noble, wounded, and sick men, that no one takes a warmer interest, or feels more for their sufferings, or admires their courage and heroism more than their Queen. Day and night she thinks of her beloved troops. So does the Prince.

"Beg Mrs. Herbert to communicate these my words to those ladies, as I know that our sympathy is much valued by these noble fellows. (Signed) "VICTORIA."

This letter was addressed to Mr. Sidney Herbert, Secretary at War, and was transmitted by Mrs. Herbert to Miss Nightingale. A perusal of this letter renders evident the fact, that the official despatches from the East told little concerning the sufferings and fate of the poor wounded soldiers; the Sovereign "heard no details of the wounded;" those details, if given at all, were wrapped up in departmental formalism, whereby living men were treated as little other than bales of goods, to be packed aside in heaps and there forgotten. Subsequent events have fully proved, that had it not been for the newspaper press, the English nation would never have known the terrible truths concerning the Crimea and Scutari.

In the silence of the night, when all who could sleep were earnestly yearning so to do, might often be seen a slender form gliding noiselessly through the wards and corridors, bounded by long rows of beds,

each occupied by a prostrate soldier. It was Miss Nightingale, who, ending a day of untiring activity, would take a last look to ascertain whether any duty had been neglected, any urgent case forgotten, any solace unadministered. When Mr. Macdonald, his mission ended, was about to leave Scutari, and when no longer restrained by a fear of hurting the delicacy of one who would brave dangers to serve others while shrinking from hearing her own praises, he stated, in one of his numerous letters to the *Times*, that "wherever there is disease in its most dangerous form, and the hand of the spoiler distressingly nigh, there is this incomparable woman sure to be seen; her benignant presence is an influence for good comfort, even amid the struggles of expiring nature. She is a 'ministering angel,' without any exaggeration, in these hospitals; and as her slender form glides quietly along each corridor, every poor fellow's face softens with gratitude at the sight of her. When all the medical officers have retired for the night, and silence and darkness have settled down upon those miles of prostrate sick, she may be observed alone, with a little lamp in her hand, making her solitary rounds. The popular instinct was not mistaken, which, when she set out from England on her mission of mercy, hailed her as a heroine; I trust that she may not earn her title to a higher, though sadder appellation. No one who has observed her fragile figure and delicate health, can avoid misgivings lest these should fail. With the heart of a true woman, and the manners of a lady, accomplished and refined beyond most of her sex, she combines a surprising calmness of judgment, and promptitude and decision of character."

During the time that these events were taking place in the Crimea and at Scutari—while the troops on the heights of Sebastopol were stricken down by wounds, fever, dysentery, cold, hunger, nakedness, and every kind of neglect; while Balaklava was a concentration of every thing abominable and repulsive;

while the weekly and almost daily passages of vessels from that place to Scutari were marked by scenes heart-rending to witness—the British nation was roused up to adopt extraordinary means for evincing how nobly it appreciated the heroic devotion of the army. It was wanting as a state; it maintained its exalted position as a nation. It adopted the ready and generous plan of affording relief, through the instrumentality either of individuals or of societies formed for the especial purpose. No incidents connected with the war were more worthy of record than these; since they illustrated—not merely the just and kind feelings entertained on the subject by all classes, without reference to party, creed or rank, but also the remarkable and wholly unprecedented way in which the newspaper press bore its share in the good work; showing how truly in effect, if not formally and legally, the press has become one of the "institutions" of the country. The succour rendered was partly in funds, partly in commodities, and partly in personal services. Before the time of the declaration of war, a society was established under the title of the "Central Association in Aid of the Wives and Families, Widows and Orphans, of soldiers ordered to the East." The object was countenanced by several members of the Royal family, and many other distinguished individuals. By the end of May the fund had reached £40,000, in a measure through the impetus given by collections made on the "Day of Humiliation;" and, before the year expired, the amount exceeded £100,000. Difficulties arose as to how to arrange in regard to the females married to soldiers without the sanction of the commanding officer; but, after much deliberation, it was resolved to treat all alike. There were about 5000 women and about 8000 children receiving relief in money, clothing, food, furniture, medicines, or other ways.

As the year progressed, and the number of deaths in the East augmented, a feeling began to be spread

throughout the country that a fund directly sanctioned by the crown, and established with all the weight the crown could give, would be proper and even necessary.—Hence commenced the munificent project, the "Patriotic Fund," the Queen and Prince Albert heading the list of subscribers by the liberal sums of £500 each. This fund was placed under the management of thirty commissioners—mostly persons well known in public life. Started under such auspices, the Patriotic Fund grew in magnitude, and advanced with a rapidity never paralleled, perhaps, in any age or country. All ranks and conditions poured in their contributions—the ancient feudal nobility, the "merchant princes," traders and manufacturers, professional men, shopkeepers, workmen in factories, children in schools— all brought their gifts to cast into this treasury for the British army and those dependent upon the men composing it. Not only every town and village in Great Britain, but also many of those in our colonies, and other parts of the world, subscribed towards this noble object. By the time the spring had well advanced, the sum had reached £1,000,000; and at a latter period £1,500,000.

The noble and munificent sum of £20,000 was subscribed by several generous individuals, who sent their individual moieties of this sum to the Editor of the *Times* newspaper, relying upon his integrity and judgment in the due appropriation of the money to the object contemplated; and the commencement, progress, and end of that fund, were among the brightest incidents afforded during the war.

One remedial measure, however, which strikingly characterises the energy of the present age, was the construction of a railway from Balaklava to the camp. Among the many novelties introduced into the military art during the Russian war, certainly this was one of the most remarkable—the formation of a railway in an enemy's country, the more effectually to besiege a town belonging to him. When the govern-

ment determined that a railway should be formed from Balaklava up to the camp, there was no want of men able and willing to effect the work. Messrs Peto, Brassey, and Betts, eminent railway-contractors, having signed an agreement with the government, advertised for artisans and labourers who would consent to go out as railway-makers in the Crimea. The war being popular, and public sympathy being aroused in favour of the suffering soldiers, the appeal was warmly responded to; and an ample number of excavators, masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, plate-layers, engine-drivers, and others, offered their services. Many of those chosen had been employed under Mr. Beatty in the construction of Canadian railways, whereby they had become acclimatised to great variations of heat and cold; and they were placed under the same managing engineer for the Crimean service—all engaged at high wages and for six months certain.

Shortly before Christmas the first consignment of men and materials left England; and, at the close of January, 1855, the railway flotilla arrived at Balaklava. The ships were speedily disburthened of their contents; and, the instructions from home being definite and complete, the manager immediately proceeded to lay out his plans. The work was carried on with vigour and energy; and, by the middle of February the work was extended as far as the village of Kadikoï, where a railway depôt was established. By the beginning of April the railway was in full operation in conveying stores and ammunition betwixt Balaklava and the camp. The formation of this railway was one of the most beneficial measures adopted for the carrying on the war; for it enabled the British commander to bring up to the front an enormous mass of artillery and ammunition in an amazing short time; and, no doubt, had the railway been constructed earlier, it would have been the means of saving many valuable lives.

Many official investigations were instituted during

the winter, to inquire into the various abuses which were alleged to prevail in the management of the army in the Crimea. These investigations were indeed noteworthy in a threefold point of view—some of them led to immediate improvements; some suggested extensive reforms available for future times; while others conduced, although indirectly and imperfectly, to a readjustment of the national verdict on the characters of the officials engaged—restoring the fair fame of some who had been cruelly misjudged, and reducing to a lower level others who had been overpraised.

Two very important investigations were carried on during the spring of 1855—important, as they brought to light abundant evidence of misrule, pointed out many of its causes, and suggested modes of future improvement. These investigations were carried on, the one in London, by the "Committee for inquiring into the State of the Army before Sebastopol," and the other in the Crimea, by commissioners appointed for a similar purpose; the one initiated by the House of Commons, the other by the minister of war; the one to report to parliament, the other to the government. The revelations given before the "Sebastopol Committee," (as it was generally called,) by the different witnesses, fully proved that gross mismanagement had been for some time carried on by those entrusted with the direction of the several departments of military and naval routine; and the Crimean Commissioners' Reports tended to the same conclusion.

We have not space to enter further into those painful details; but will now turn to the operations at Eupatoria during the winter. When the Allies sailed from Varna, it was at first intended to effect a landing at Eupatoria; but strategic considerations led to the selection of Old Fort in preference. On the 9th of Sept. Eupatoria was formally occupied as a military position by the Allies; but the garrison for a considerable time scarcely exceeded 600 men, consisting chiefly of seamen, marines, and sappers: but they

threw up works sufficiently strong to keep the Cossacks at a distance, formed a corps of Turkish irregulars to protect the flocks outside the town, and acted in conjunction with a small fleet in the harbour to strengthen the position generally. As the year approached its close, the augmentations of the garrison became more frequent and important. On the 25th and 26th two Turkish battalions arrived from Kamiesch and Balaklava. In the beginning of December the Russians made an attempt on the town, but were, as usual, repulsed. The Allied commanders having agreed, at a council of war, that Omar Pasha's army should occupy the town, the first division of that army began to arrive on the 9th of December; others followed as rapidly as possible, until an army-corps was formed under Mehemet Ferek Pasha. As the whole of Omar's army could not be accommodated in such a small town, camps were formed on the exterior in good positions, well defended both by continuous lines and isolated redoubts on a range of low hills. Eupatoria became, in fact, one of the strongest places in the Crimea. The whole of the Turkish army had been transported, under much difficulty, from Varna to Eupatoria; Omar Pasha himself embarked at Varna on 7th of February. He landed at Eupatoria, amid winds which rendered that exposed coast very unfavourable for the disembarkation of an army, and in sight of the hapless *Henri Quatre* and the four stranded transport vessels, all high and dry on the beach.

Squadrons of Cossacks had been noticed hovering about Eupatoria at different times in the beginning of February; and slight skirmishes had occurred betwixt these and the Turkish out-posts. On the 18th, however, proceedings of some importance took place. Early on the morning of that day, the sudden withdrawal of the Turkish vedettes, and the whissing of shells and balls, told that the Russians had reached the vicinity of the town, and the contest had begun. One of the advanced works of the Turks, on a knoll or

hillock, was the scene of conflict. Dark masses of Russian infantry were dimly visible through the gloomy mist of a cold February morning, protected but not hidden by a formidable line of guns. The Turks, remembering Kalafat and Citale, Oltenitsa and Silistria, and knowing that their best general was among them, proudly and confidently looked at their foes, and prepared to render a good account of their prowess. The artillery kept up a brisk fire on both sides; while Omar Pasha, between the fitful clouds of smoke, sought to ascertain the numbers and the probable plans of the enemy. Three tumuli, forming a line parallel with the landward margin of the town, had been occupied by the Russians as a base of attack; cavalry in great force occupied one of these tumuli, infantry the two other, while riflemen formed the ends of a crescent by which this line of attack was extended to two small lakes north and south of Eupatoria; eight or ten batteries of artillery were posted in front of the troops, and a few slight earthworks accommodated a corps of riflemen whose duty it was to protect these guns from a *coup de main*. The armed line was thus very formidable in appearance and in strength. At first, the Russians directed their fire mostly against the centre of the Turkish position, but afterwards turned their attention rather to the Turkish right, posted near a Greek cemetery outside Eupatoria. The *Valorous* and the *Curacuo* steamers, the *Viper* gunboat, and a Turkish steamer, took up positions opposite the north and south flanks of the Turkish line, and sent their shot and shell right over the Turks, pell-mell into the Russian masses. After two hours of heavy cannonading, the Russian infantry commenced an attack chiefly upon the Turkish right, south of the town; two columns advanced rapidly, cheered on by their officers; the Turks regarded them unflinchingly, allowed them to approach within sixty or seventy yards, and then poured forth a volley which made wide gaps in the Muscovite line. For a moment con-

fused, and forced to retire, the Russians re-formed, and made another advance; but again the Osmanlis steadily confronted them, allowed them to make a near approach, and sent out a torrent of shot against which they were unable to stand. Seeing the enemy thus discomfited, Ismail Bey sallied forth with the 7th regiment of Roumelia, and, aided by Skender Beg with a body of cavalry, completed the route of the enemy, who retired precipitately, leaving 100 dead on the field. The repulse was decisive, for the Russians did not renew the attack at this point, nor indeed did they make any other clearly marked infantry attack; for though they maintained a fierce fire against the Turkish centre, this was the work of artillery. It required the combined aid of English, French, and Turkish guns, naval as well as military, to repel the large force of artillery possessed by the enemy, probably that of General Lipranđi, who commanded. The Allies could espy a carriage among the enemy's forces; and after many cavalry officers had held communication with the occupant of this carriage, there appeared to be an order of retreat issued. The infantry marched off, protected by the artillery, while the artillery itself was protected from sudden attack by the cavalry: all retired slowly and safely; and as the sun about that time burst forth through the clouds, the glittering Russian mass appeared rather as if going through a review than a retreat.

The battle was certainly not a great one; but it was important in many ways—among others, in showing that the Turks, when well commanded, can not only fight well behind earthen ramparts, but can meet steadily a charge from the enemy in the open field, one of the most trying tests of soldierly qualities. The Russian army, estimated at the time at 30,000 in number, was afterwards believed to have amounted nearer to 40,000; it cannot be said to have maintained its attack with much resolution or skill. This army had left Sebastopol three days previously, with six days'

provisions for the men; and as the commissariat-waggons were still far distant, it is possible that the commander distrusted his power of effecting much at Eupatoria before his supplies might run short, considering the almost impassable condition of the roads in winter. Some of the prisoners stated that there were 100 guns with the army. When the brief contest was over, Omar Pasha visited the camp, and complimented his troops on what they had achieved—a proceeding that gave them extravagant pleasure; for the Turkish soldiers, patient under afflictions, are easily gratified by a little judicious commendation. In the advanced work against which the chief fire of the Russian artillery was directed, Selim Bey, commander of the Egyptians, was killed, and his second in command, Suleiman Bey, severely wounded, as was likewise Ismail Pasha. The Turkish loss in killed and wounded was about 200; the Russians much greater, although, as the wounded were carried off by them, the numbers could not be accurately known. Omar Pasha, in a despatch to Lord Raglan, estimated the Russian killed at 450. By drawing Liprandi's army away from the vicinity of Balaklava and Inkermann, the Turkish occupation of Eupatoria greatly relieved the Allies encamped outside Sebastopol; and by defeating it, the Turks more than redeemed the credit they had lost at Balaklava.

In the latter part of February and in March, the Turks made two or three reconnaissances, and harrassed the enemy rather severely; but nothing of very great importance resulted to either party. The Bashi-Bazouks, being partial to booty, in one of their encounters, loaded themselves with spoil taken from a squadron of Cossacks, which they had forced to retire. The month of April thus found the Ottoman forces, with a small portion of English and French, in possession of Eupatoria, while that town had become one of the strongest positions in the Crimea.

The siege, during the early months of 1855, progressed with very little variation; although on some

particular occasions the Russians (probably to divert the attention of the besiegers from a sortie they were about to make,) would open a tremendous cannonade against the Allied works. The Russians received large reinforcements in the beginning of the year; whilst the British at the same time were much reduced, especially in officers. Although Lord Raglan received reinforcements in January, they did not materially increase the strength of the army, for they were chiefly raw and inexperienced; and many of them were struck down almost as soon as they arrived. The incidents of the siege, and operations of the Allied army in the month of February were somewhat varied, but yet void in a great measure of any great result to either party. On the 13th of Feb. a sortie, headed by a dashing young officer, was made on the French positions, but it was speedily checked and the young officer wounded and taken prisoner. This heroic young man, who died of his wounds, was believed, by the French, to be a natural son of the Emperor Nicholas.

In the third week of February, the cold was intense; and some Tartar spies, who had been set to watch the movements of the Russians on the plateau, came in, and reported that, although the main body of Liprandi's forces had gone off towards Eupatoria, about 6000 infantry and a few guns had been left near the Tchernaya. The Allied commanders at once resolved on an attempt to capture this force. The light division, under Gen. Bosquet, one regiment of Zouaves, Sir Colin Campbell's Highland Brigade, a body of French cavalry under Gen. d'Allonville, a small force of English cavalry, and a few batteries of English and French artillery—forming in the whole an army of considerable magnitude—were told off for the service. It was arranged that Sir Colin, with his Highlanders, should advance cautiously upon the front of the enemy; while the French, winding round to the south and east would suddenly appear upon their left flank, and cut off their retreat on the Traktir Bridge over the

Tchernaya. The arrangements were skilfully made, but the carrying out of them was thwarted by the severity of the weather. During the early part of the night there was a drenching rain and boisterous wind; then, towards the morning, the wind suddenly changed, and there came on an intense frost and a heavy fall of snow. Bosquet, under the circumstances, deemed it prudent not to hazard the destruction of his troops, through encountering this dreadful weather; therefore, he remained with his forces in their tents. Not so Sir Colin Campbell and his brave followers; they left their quarters about two o'clock in the morning, and traversed their way to the appointed place of meeting, amid blinding snow and biting frost, scarce being able to hold their muskets in their frozen hands; and, after encountering many difficulties, arrived at the appointed place. No French troops, however, were there; they waited as patiently as men under their circumstances could be expected to wait, until the grey dawn of morning began to appear, and then the Russians were seen, evidently surprised, but in full retreat over the heights beyond Tchorgound. A messenger had been sent off to apprise Sir Colin of the resolution which Bosquet had come to, and to request him to defer proceeding on the expedition; but when the messenger arrived, Sir Colin and his troops had been gone about two hours. The brave old general and hardy troops had to return, chewing the cud of bitter disappointment—many of the men almost frozen to death. There is no doubt had the troops met and made the attack, the whole of the 6000 Russians would have been made prisoners of war. 400 of the intrepid band who went out with Sir Colin on this dreadful night were so frost-bitten, that they had to be placed under the care of the hospital surgeons.

The most remarkable movement in February, took place two days after the snowy journey of Sir Colin Campbell's division. The scene of this activity was

south-eastward of the Karabelnia, between the suburb and Sebastopol. The Malakoff Tower stood on or near the line of defence outside the Karabelnia, between the suburb itself and the attack-work of the Allies; and, by extensively fortifying the hill on which the tower stood, it became a stronghold of the most formidable kind, necessitating greatly increased attack-works on the part of whomsoever might attempt to capture the town. All this the Allies well knew; but they did not know, or did not act as if they knew, that there was another hill fully deserving their attention. Outside of the Malakoff, outside the defence-works—indeed much nearer to the French trenches than to the Russian works—was an elevation subsequently to acquire a world-wild reputation under the name of the MAMELON. This hill is about one-third of a mile in advance of the Malakoff, and somewhat less than a quarter of a mile in circumference at the base, gradually narrowing towards an irregular flat summit; the side next to the Allies, having been quarried for stone, was high and steep, broken and rugged, with large masses of rough stone lying about it; and as the height was very considerably above the level of the most advanced French works, an attack upon such a spot, if defended, would be a serious undertaking, since a noiseless approach would be impossible, over the rough crags and rolling stones.

Though the Allies permitted this important position to be neglected, the Russians did not. On the dark night of the 22nd, an immense body of Russian working soldiers emerged in silence from behind the Malakoff, and marched quickly over the space which intervened between that fort and the Mamelon hill, taking with them every thing required for the erection of defence-works. The Allied pickets and trench-guards heard subdued sounds during the night, and remained more than usually watchful against a sortie; but suspecting nothing further, made no other preparation. The morning of the 23rd broke out cold and misty, the Mamelon almost imperceptible, but

when it cleared up a little, they were astonished and mortified to perceive that the Mamelon had become a fort since the preceding evening. Two complete rows of gabions had been filled, and placed all round the summit of the hill, under cover of which the working-party were busily engaged in digging trenches, making platforms for heavy guns, and completing all the arrangements necessary for a regular fortification.

This was a galling sight for the French, as it placed a barrier between them and the Malakoff, rendering necessary a conquest of the Mamelon before the remoter fort could be silenced. A plan to attack the Mamelon, ere it assumed formidable proportions, was formed by the French; but there was a traitor in the camp, an Italian, who divulged these plans to the Russians, and fully prepared them to resist the intended attack. The French force consisted of about 2500, consisting of Zouaves, chasseurs, and marines: General Monet was placed in command, and was ordered to make the attack at midnight. The attack was made; and the French were repulsed, with great loss; General Monet was dangerously, though not fatally, wounded; and nearly 600 French troops were either killed or wounded.

This was entirely a French attack; for the English knew nothing about it until roused from their slumbers by roar of artillery in the Malakoff. A murderous fire poured from the Malakoff and Redan; and the French troops were so galled and frenzied by the burning tempest, that they would have rushed upon the Malakoff itself, but this would have been madness.

About 150 days had elapsed since the Allies had arrived in the Crimea; and, although much had been done through their bravery, yet much remained to be achieved ere the object contemplated by the besiegers could be accomplished. However, notwithstanding all the difficulties which the British and French forces had to contend with, they prepared for further conflict; being determined to overcome every obstacle, or perish in the attempt.

CHAPTER X.

Fruitless Negotiations—Death of the Emperor Nicholas—Vienna Conference—Progress of the Siege in 1855.

The aim of the compiler of this work was not so much directed to the presenting to the reader an historical narrative of minor particulars and events connected with the countries engaged in the war; but to a detail of the chief operations and struggles in which the contending forces bore a conspicuous part. Already has too much minuteness been indulged in; but in further prosecuting the task to completion, the attention of the reader will be chiefly directed to the principal events during the remainder of the contest.

At the commencement and throughout the progress of the war, there were many who indulged the hope that the broken-up nationalities might again be restored—that Poland, Hungary, and Italy, might again be placed among the list of independent nations. However desirable this consummation might be, and however favourably inclined the British government were to the accomplishment of such an object, yet, under the circumstances, it could not be a party to the resuscitation of the national independence of those countries, without coming into direct collision with the states with which it was on friendly terms. This hope, therefore, was doomed to be disappointed.

There were negotiations going on betwixt the governments of England and France on the one hand, and Austria and Prussia on the other, for several months, but, as they led to no important results, a detail of them is unnecessary here. One event took place at this period that deserves to be noticed, which reflects great honour upon the small state which so boldly stood

forth to protest against Russian policy. This state was Sardinia. The king entered into a convention with the Allied powers to transmit 15,000 Sardinian troops to the Crimea, to aid the Allied forces against the Russians; these troops consisting of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. Nobly did those troops distinguish themselves during the remainder of the war.

The early part of the year 1855 was marked by dissensions in the government of Great Britain. The Aberdeen ministry had long been in bad odour with the country; and the formation of the "Sebastopol Committee" was the primary cause of its break-down, which event took place in the beginning of February. Several days elapsed ere another ministry could be formed; Lord Derby endeavoured to form one, but failed; Lord John Russell also failed. At length Lord Palmerston succeeded in bringing together a portion of the former ministry, making up the remainder by placing those in office on whom he thought he could rely for possessing the necessary qualifications for the posts he assigned them. Several changes, however, subsequently took place, ere the government was placed in any thing like stability.

During these complicated and harassing transactions, an event took place which startled all Europe—nay, all parts of the civilised world. This was the death of the Czar Nicholas. Throughout the early weeks of 1855 rumours had had been rife that the emperor was in ill health; and those who knew how little prone he was to listen to advice, either from physicians or others, augured a possibly unfavourable result, at a time when severity of weather and intensity of mental anxiety combined to affect him. On the 23rd of Feb. he was so ill that he transferred all authority in imperial matters to his eldest son Alexander. On the 1st of March his physician ventured to announce to him that his end was approaching; he therefore took farewell of his wife, kissed all his children and grand-children, thanked his principal servants for their

faithful services; and then lost the power of speech for a few hours. On the 2nd he rallied a little, and regained the power of uttering a few sounds. The last words he was heard to utter were: "Tell Frits to remain constant to Russia, and not to forget the words of his father." The "Frits" here mentioned was Frederick William of Prussia; but the real meaning of the word was unknown to all but those immediately concerned. At about noon, the Emperor Nicholas ceased to live. The death of the czar was known in most of the capitals of Europe on the very day on which it occurred.

Negotiations were in progress at the time when the Emperor Nicholas died; and Lord John Russell, who was empowered to negotiate on the part of Great Britain, was on his way to Vienna when that event took place. These negotiations at Vienna, like former ones, ended without coming to any satisfactory issue. The demands of Prince Gortchakoff on the part of Russia were so imperious, that the other negotiators could not acquiesce in them.

During the time Lord Derby was in power a militia-bill was passed in parliament, empowering them to raise a force numbering 80,000 militia, the period of whose service was to be five years. When war began, the militia were embodied, and in December, 1855, an act was passed enabling the government to send militia regiments to render garrison duty at Gibraltar, Malta, and Corfu, in order that the regular troops might be placed at the disposal of the commander at the seat of war; every militiaman exercising a choice whether he would volunteer into this special service. The halo of glory thrown around the soldier's life by the deeds of Alma and Inkermann, together with the increased bounty, enabled the government to obtain a considerable increase both in the regular army and the militia. Strengthened as it was by recruits to the regular regiments, and furnished with a reserve of disciplined soldiers by the embodiment of the militia,

gradually augmenting in amount during the progress of the war—the British army was nevertheless placed in a position for receiving still further numerical power, by the formation of a Foreign Legion.

When the Aberdeen government brought forward a measure for sanctioning the raising of a foreign legion, the bill was received with little favour. In parliament and by the public press it was regarded by many as dishonouring to the British nation: as a virtual confession that we could not honestly fight our own honest battles by our own resources. The Earls of Derby, Ellenborough, and Malmesbury opposed it in the Lords; while the opponents in the Commons comprised many of the Conservative and Liberal parties, who joined their votes on this occasion. Nevertheless, the bill passed, probably because the ministers threatened to resign if defeated. The act empowered the Queen to raise a legion expressly for foreign service; it limited the number in England at any one time to 10,000; it declared that the legion was to be commanded and officered by foreigners, with certain stipulations concerning pay and rank; and it limited the application of the act to a period not later than one year after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace with Russia. The measure, however, never met with a warm response from the nation; and, on account of the epithets which had been used by many when speaking of the recruits offering for this arm of the service, volunteers were very tardy in coming forward. Enlistment in foreign countries was much opposed by the officials in many nations, and brought the British government into much obloquy; even endangering the friendly relations which existed between England and America.

Camps were formed at Chobham, Aldershott Heath, and Shorncliffe, chiefly for the purpose of training and inuring the troops to endure camp life in foreign countries. The camp at Shorncliffe was confined to the bivouacking of the Foreign Legion; the men

being mostly obtained from North Belgium, Germany, and Holstein; and, being principally composed of men who had before been in service, all speedily assumed a respectable military appearance.

In addition to strengthening the army in its general organization, there were two new corps added to it; those were the Army Works and the Land Transport Corps. Besides the regular military duties devolving upon the troops, the men had been harassed and fatigued by hard work not altogether within their province, such as mending roads, building hovels, carrying heavy burdens, and various other duties, not altogether connected with the duties usually expected of soldiers. The formation of those two corps was intended to relieve the regular soldier from these onerous and fatiguing duties; and to assist the railway in conveying stores and provisions to the camps.

There were two other additions to the army constructed during 1855; but, as their services were not much required, little will be said regarding them. These were the Turkish and Sardinian Contingents, composed of men from various countries: the Turkish Contingent, however, did not progress very favourably, but the Sardinian one assumed a very respectable appearance.

In the beginning of May, General Canrobert resigned the command of the French army, preferring the subordinate office of general-of-division to the more important one of commander-in-chief. He still remained with the army in the Crimea. The command was conferred on Marshal Pelissier, whose military qualifications were of the highest order; and many now expected that the capture of Sebastopol would speedily be accomplished.

To return to the operations of the Siege. The month of May was signalised by many important events.

On the night between the 21st and 22nd the French attacked the Russian ambuscades situated on their extreme left, in front of the Central Bastion. The Rus-

sians made an energetic defence, and the works were taken and retaken five times. On the morning following, our allies attacked the works again, and carried them. The loss of the French amounted to 600 killed and 2000 wounded; that of the Russians was estimated at 1500 killed and 6000 wounded. General Pelissier states that 1200 dead bodies were given up to the Russians during a short truce which he granted.

Two days after this victory the Allies took possession of the heights of the Tchernaya, the enemy making no resistance.

But still more important events took place on the Sea of Azof. On the 22nd a fleet of English and French vessels, under the joint command of Sir E. Lyons and Admiral Bruat, and accompanied by a force of 15,000 troops and five batteries of artillery, under the command of Sir George Brown, left the anchorage off Sebastopol, and proceeded towards Kertch, arriving there at early dawn on the birth-day of her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, both army and navy confidently anticipating a successful celebration of that auspicious day. The fleets steamed rapidly up to Kamiesh, where the army landed under cover of the guns of the steam-frigates, and immediately ascended the heights without opposition, whilst the steamers of of light draught of water pushed on towards Kertch and Yenikalé; and the enemy, apparently taken by surprise at the rapidity of these movements, and at the imposing appearance of the expedition, blew up his fortifications on both sides of the straits, mounting not less than fifty guns (new and of heavy calibre), which fell into the possession of the Allies, and retired, after having destroyed three steamers and several other heavily-armed vessels, as well as large quantities of provision, ammunition, and stores—thus leaving the Allies masters of the entrance into the Sea of Azof, without our having sustained any loss whatever.

As the disembarkation was unopposed, in con-

sequence of the fire of the steam-frigates having arrested the advance of the enemy, there was no field for the gallantry that animated every one in the expedition; but the duties they had to perform were very arduous. An incident occurred during the day that called forth the admiration of both fleets, and which deserves to be particularly noticed. Lieutenant M'Killop, whose gun-vessel, the *Snake*, was not employed like others in landing troops, dashed past the forts after an enemy's steamer, and although he soon found himself engaged not only with her but also with two others who came to her support, he persevered, and, by the cleverness and extreme rapidity of his manœuvres, prevented the escape of all three, and they were consequently destroyed by the enemy; and the *Snake* had not a man hurt, though shot passed through the vessel.

Had this expedition been deferred but a short time longer, there would have been many and great difficulties to overcome, for the enemy was actively employed in strengthening the sea defences, and in replacing the sunken vessels which had been carried away by the current during the winter months.

Of the forty vessels sunk the year before, some still remained, and a French steamer touched upon one of them. It appears that the enemy did not succeed in destroying the coals either at Kertch or Yenikalé, so that about seventeen thousand tons remained, which were available for our steamers.

A very short time afterwards an English gun-boat of light draught of water was directed against Yenikalé, to cut short the progress of a Russian steam-vessel, which was attempting to make for the Sea of Azof. A serious engagement immediately commenced between the two boats, in which the batteries of Yenikalé also took part. The *Fulton* was brought up, whose guns were quickly directed towards the theatre of the struggle, while she was exposed to a very brisk fire. The *Megre* was ordered to assist her; and Admiral Lyons, on his side, supported the cannonade. How-

ever, the Russian vessel, which was known to carry the treasure of Kertch, escaped, leaving in our hands two craft, laden with valuables and a part of the civil and military archives. But the confusion of the Russians, taken suddenly both by land and sea, became such that they soon gave up a too long resistance, and did not even take the trouble to carry off the wounded that they had brought from Sebastopol. In the course of the day they had set on fire some considerable magazines which they possessed at Kertch.

At last, having evacuated Yenikalé, they set fire to a magazine, which contained nearly 60,000lbs. of powder. The concussion was such that several houses were destroyed, and vessels at ten miles' distance felt it.

The enemy lost 160,000 sacks of oats; 360,000 sacks of corn; 100,000 sacks of flour. A foundry of guns and gun-carriages was destroyed.

Three steam-vessels were sunk by the Russians themselves; thirty transports were destroyed, and as many taken. About 200,000lbs. of powder was destroyed in the several explosions. The guns that fell into our hands numbered from sixty to eighty, and were very fine, and of large calibre.

After taking possession of Kertch and Yenikalé, the fleet proceeded to Genitchi, landed a body of seamen and marines, and, after driving the Russian force from the place, destroyed all the dépôts and vessels laden with corn and supplies for the enemy. In this affair one man only was wounded. On the 26th, the Allied flotilla having appeared before Berdiansk, the enemy set fire to four of their steamers and to some large storehouse. On the following day the Bay of Arabat was visited, but no vessel was seen. The fleet exchanged a brisk cannonade with the fort, and one of its shells blew up a powder magazine. Altogether, the enemy lost, in four days, an immense quantity of provisions, four steamers, and 240 vessels employed exclusively in provisioning the troops in the Crimea.

The bombardment recommenced on the afternoon of Wednesday, the 6th of June. Up till two oclock on that day, active preparations were making in our batteries, but no sign was given to the enemy. The heat was very great; notwithstanding a refreshing breeze which was blowing over the heights, the thermometer, placed on the ground in the open air, indicated a temperature of 95 degrees Fahr. This comparative stillness continued until just two o'clock, when the loud boom of a gun resounded from the French works on Mount Sapoune. This was followed in quick succession by other guns, the shots being discharged against the Kamtchatka Redoubt on the Mamelon Vert. The Russian redoubts on Mount Sapoune (east of Careening Bay) quickly replied. The guns on the left French attack next took up the fire, then our guns on the left attack, and lastly those on our right attack—making altogether 167 guns and mortars on our side, and above 300 on that of the French. The combined roar of the artillery was fearfully grand. In a short space of time, from the French batteries on the sea-shore, to their works on the Inkermann heights, dense columns of white smoke arose, so as almost to form one continuous cloud, veiling every thing beyond from view.

The fire of the Allies was kept up for the first three hours with excessive rapidity, the Russians answering by no means on an equal scale though with considerable warmth. On our side the predominance of shells was very manifest, and distinguished the present cannonade in some degree even from the last. The superiority of fire over the enemy became apparent at various points before nightfall, especially in the Redan, which was under the especial attention of the Naval Brigade. The Russians displayed, however, plenty of determination and bravery. They fired frequent salvos, at intervals, of four or six guns, and also, by way of reprisals, threw many shot up to our Light Division, and on the Picket house-hill. Shortly after sunset the Russians ceased firing from their batteries. An

incessant shelling was kept up all night from our works, to prevent the enemy from repairing damages. So silent were the Russian works that it seemed probable the guns had been drawn from the embrasures and placed behind the parapets, and that the gunners themselves had also retired to places of shelter.

The excitement in both camps throughout the day following was extreme. At noon a deputation of French officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of every regiment of General Bosquet's troops waited on him to state that they wished and desired to be led to the assault. Every one was on the *qui vive*, and even the artificers attached to each regiment, who generally are exempted from fighting, were under arms. In the afternoon it became known that operations were to commence in earnest in the evening. The French were to assault the Kamtchatcka Redoubt on the Mamelon-hill, and also the redoubts on the east side of Careening Bay. As soon as the Mamelon was secured the English were to take the Quarry work in front of the Redan, and the Russian trenches in front of Frenchman's-hill. The French had served out to them cooked rations for forty-eight hours, and a pint of wine each. All were in high spirits, eager for the struggle, and confident of the result.

At five p.m. the French divisions marched to the attack. The Second Division, with General Carnot in front, led the way. About six or seven hundred yards from the entrance to the Karabelnaia ravine the regiments were halted, and, shortly after, General Bosquet arrived, with his staff, and addressed a few words to each regiment in turn. By each, at the conclusion of his remarks, the General was greeted with loud cheers. The order to move forward was then given. A battalion of the Algerian troops led the way, marching in column of subdivisions. They left behind their white turbans, and wore only the scarlet fez; their blue open jackets, the blue vests, with yellow embroidery, their trousers in ample folds, of the same colour, contracted

only at the waist and in the leg, where the yellow leathern greaves and white gaiters covered them, their bare necks, their light elastic tread—all presented a perfect picture of manly ease and activity. Their swarthy, and in many instances jet black, countenances beamed with excitement and delight; they gave vent to their feelings in exclamations which only those versed in African warfare are familiar with; and seemed with difficulty to restrain themselves to the measured tread of the march. They were followed by three battalions of the 50th Regiment of the Line. The 3rd Regiment of Zouaves came after—powerful, active, sunburnt Europeans—in their Eastern costume and agile movements seeming the twin brothers of the Algerians who had preceded them. The Chasseurs à pied followed; and three battalions of the 7th Regiment of the Line succeeded. There were about 12,000 men in this division.

The Second Division was scarcely lost to sight in the winding valley of the ravine, when the Fifth Division came in sight. This division, under General Brunet, was arranged to form the working partly, to secure the hold of the Mamelon Vert as soon as the attacking columns had taken it. It included the 4th battalion of the Chasseurs à pied, with the 11th, 26th, 60th, and 16th Regiments of the Line—altogether 10,000 men. At the same time Omar Pasha moved with a force, apparently about 15,000 strong, of Ottomans and Egyptians, and occupied the space on which were formerly encamped the Second British Division and the brigade of Guards, near the Inkermann heights. These troops had come up during the night from the Balaklava plain. They protected the right flank against any attack from the Russian forces encamped on the northern heights and Inkermann mountain, who might, otherwise, with impunity have come up by way of the Inkermann valley, and sought to annoy the troops engaged in the attack on the Russian works in front.

Soon after the French divisions had passed down the ravine, General Pelissier, with General Canrobert and

an immense staff, amid loud cheering, rode past the front of the British troops, and going by the right of the Victoria Redoubt, took up his station in a small outwork, made for the purposes of observation, about five hundred yards in advance. From this observatory a full view could be obtained of the operations on the right of the Careening Bay ravine, as well as those immediately against the Kamtschatka redoubt on the Mamelon Vert. Lord Raglan, it was understood, was to take up his position in advance of the Third Division, whence there was a good view of the Quarry in front of the Redan—the more immediate object of the British attack.

At half-past six, four incendiary rockets, the signal for the starting of the attacking columns, took their flight from the Victoria Redoubt. At the signal of the first rocket the troops were all formed, and at the third rocket were seen on the right above Careening Bay, and along the advanced trench at the foot of the Mamelon—a living wall. The fourth rocket had no sooner taken its flight than the parapets were cleared. Forward went the lines, throwing out a cloud of skirmishers. The Russian trenches on the side of the Mamelon Vert were climbed over, trench after trench, apparently without any opposition. Then the steep sides of the hill were mounted. The French were seen in three columns, one ascending towards the west face, another towards the east face of the works, while the third moved directly up towards the face fronting the Victoria Redoubt. But the whole surface of the hill was soon covered with their skirmishers. After one discharge from some of the heavy guns, the Russians got into the embrasures and upon the parapets, and fired a few shots from their rifles, without, seemingly, doing any execution; but the volleys from the skirmishers, or else the consciousness of the inutility of resistance, compelled them quickly to retire. Their force was evidently small. They had not expected an attack at such an hour, by daylight. Nothing could

be finer than the "dash" with which the French troops ascended the steep slope—a natural glacis—towards the parapets. The Russians were evidently staggered. At first the Malakoff batteries and the Redan offered no attempt to impede the progress of the assailants. Whether the tremendous fire which was poured against them, from the English batteries of both the left and right attack, restrained them, or whether they were bewildered at the nature of the assault, they scarcely fired a shot while the first columns of French mounted the hill. Presently the French were swarming into the embrasures, mounting on the parapets, and descending into the work. Shortly after the Russians were observed escaping by the way leading from the redoubt towards the hill crowned by the ruins of the Malakoff Tower and the numerous batteries around it.

And now occurred the grand mistake which subsequently entailed a great loss of life among our brave allies. The arrangements had been made for taking and securing the large redoubt on the Mamelon-hill, but it was not intended to go further at that moment. Such, however, was the impetuosity of the troops, such the excitement of the officers and men at their first success, that they could not resist the pursuit of the Russians on the one hand, or the attempt to storm the Malakoff itself. Between the Malakoff and Mamelon hills is a deep saddle-like hollow. Across this saddle, dipping down towards the right of the Malakoff-hill, is the ordinary way of communication between the Marine suburb and Mamelon. In this direction the Russian troops took their flight, and these and their pursuers were soon lost to sight behind the ridge. But the great body of the French troops moved straight across the saddle and mounted the Malakoff-hill. The Russians, aware of their danger, poured down a heavy fire upon the assailants, from the batteries, and apparently brought field-pieces so as to take them in flank. In spite of these, the French still mounted, and at last were seen to reach the abattis work drawn around the hill. So

short a distance was this from the lower tier of batteries that the Russians could no longer depress guns sufficiently to bear upon them, and standing upon the parapets they were seen to throw large stones, besides keeping up a heavy musketry fire, against the French. The French had evidently met with a difficulty they could not conquer: they were observed to be looking on all sides for an opportunity of advancing, but yet were unable to move on. Presently a sudden sense of their dangerous position seemed to seize them, and they retired back towards the Mamelon. The Russians by this time had assembled their reinforcements behind the Malakoff works, and, as the French were seen moving down the dip of the saddle towards the Mamelon, these troops were seen to come up in a dense mass, pouring a heavy flanking fire against the allies. At the same time they came within range of the guns of the works around the Malakoff Tower (the Korniloff Bastion), which, notwithstanding the shower of shell and rockets from our batteries, kept up a galling fire against the French as they retired. Some confusion followed; the Russians followed the French into the Kamtchatka Redoubt, and the latter were next compelled to evacuate it. That was a time of deep anxiety for all who were watching the engagement. But confidence was again resumed, when the French, who had descended the Mamelon-hill, were seen to be steadily re-forming in the Russian trenches which surround its base. Up they went again, sending a shower of balls among the Russians, who were now in crowds covering the parapets. The redoubt was fringed with smoke and flames from the fire of the Russian rifles against the French as they mounted the hill, and the hill-side was covered with the fire of the assailants. It was now a few minutes before eight o'clock; a dense bank of black clouds rested on the horizon, and the sun had sunk behind it. The Russians made for some time a gallant resistance, but in vain; as the French mounted they were seen to waver, and just as the French reach-

ed the parapets they leaped down and retired. Our allies were again masters of the Mamelon Vert.

While all this was going on, a sharp struggle had ensued between the French and the Russian troops occupying the redoubts on the east side of the Careening Bay ravine. The French had been seen to rush from the right flank of their works, towards the foremost redoubt. In front of this were two large ambuscades and a trench: one volley appeared to be fired by riflemen in the pit, after which they hastily fell back on the redoubt. The contest at the first redoubt was speedily settled; at the second redoubt the resistance was more obstinate. Here the Russians had a deep and secure covered approach, which descended the slope of the cliff, crossed the ravine, and was connected with a like approach from the Mamelon Redoubt. A complete parallel was thus formed. The enemy in the Careening Redoubts were evidently dismayed when they saw the Mamelon Vert fall into the hands of the French, for this principal communication by which supports could arrive to them was thus cut off, and they were not in strength sufficient without reinforcements to resist with effect the overpowering force of their antagonists. They retired, therefore, partly by the covered way, and partly towards the slope of the hill, as it falls upon the roadstead; and the work remained in the hands of the French. Upwards of 500 prisoners were taken in these redoubts and 78 guns.

As soon as the Mamelon was taken by the French, the order was given by Colonel Campbell for the small force told off for attacking the Quarry to advance. One end of the Quarry, that looking eastward in a direction towards the Malakoff Tower, was connected with three parallels which the Russians had dug in front of the most advanced works, on Frenchman's hill, to prevent our further advance. The large rifle-pit which the Russians contrived to throw up after "Egerton's pit" had been taken from them was connected with the foremost of these parallels. When the order

was given for our attacking party to advance, the 88th and 7th rushed out from the right of the zigzag approach on the left of our advanced work, the men of the 47th and 49th Regiments from the left of the approach. While some rushed up the hill towards the Quarry, others took possession of the enemy's rifle-pit and advanced trench. It appeared that the Russians, on seeing the attack of the French against the Mamelon, had moved along their trenches towards the right, where they became connected with the trenches or other works on the Malakoff-hill, so that the left, that side on which our men advanced, was almost wholly deserted. A trifling opposition met with in the Quarry itself was quickly reduced, and our troops congratulated themselves on having gained an easy victory. Carried away by their enthusiasm, they even advanced towards the Redan, and perhaps had they been in force, such was the confusion and alarm of the Russians, they might have carried this important work. As it was, the enemy returned with comparatively powerful reinforcements, and suddenly opened a flanking fire, which compelled our men to abandon the Quarry. It was not armed as had been anticipated. A second time our men moved against this work, and took it from the enemy, who had again entered it; nor was this the last time, for still later in the evening a third contest for its possession took place, which ended, as before, in our being victors, but at a severe expense. No less than eighteen officers, and a large number of men, amounting to upwards of half the original attacking force, were placed *hors de combat*, including killed and wounded. Colonel Campbell behaved with the most determined gallantry. He was struck no less than four times, once so severely by a musket-ball, which providentially was prevented from inflicting a more serious wound by striking the front of his sword-belt, that he fainted. Nothing but the unflinching bravery of the troops could have enabled them to retain the Quarry after they had wrested it from the

enemy. The ground at the back of the Quarry was fortunately found to be loose and soft, so that the working party were enabled to throw up some cover in this direction without much difficulty.

During the night repeated attacks, six in all, were made upon our men in the Quarries, who defended their new acquisition with the utmost courage and pertinacity, and at great sacrifice of life, against superior numbers, continually replenished. The strength of the party told off for the attack was in all only 1000, of whom 600 were in support. At the commencement 200 only went in, and another 200 followed. More than once there was a fierce hand-to-hand fight in the position itself, and our fellows had frequently to dash out in front and take their assailants in flank. In one of the attacks the Russians experienced some difficulty in bringing their men again to the scratch. At length one Russian officer succeeded in bringing on four men, which Corporal Quin, of the 47th, perceiving, made a dash out of the work, and with the butt end of his musket brained one, bayoneted a second, and, the other two taking to their heels, brought in the officer a prisoner, having administered to him a gentle prick by way of quickening his movements.

Russian prisoners and deserters represented the loss to the enemy as being enormous; 25,000 men were spoken about as their loss since the re-opening of the bombardment; 15,000 alone during the attack on the 7th.

On the 18th of June an attack on the Malakoff and Redan was made by the Allies, which was met by the Russians in a determined and successful manner; the Allies being repulsed, and compelled to retire, suffering great loss.

The original plan of attack contemplated a joint English and French assault of the Malakoff, which, as commanding the Redan and forming the grand key to the whole network of redoubts and batteries in front of the place, would, if taken, have at once rendered the

former untenable, and placed the whole town and harbour at the mercy of the captors. For reasons, however, which nobody can understand, this very sensible and apparently most practicable design was abandoned, and the plan was changed into one simultaneous attack of the two great works—the Malakoff being undertaken by the French and the Redan by the English. The first manifest disadvantage of this arrangement was the spreading of our forces over a field of difficulties nearly double in extent, and enabling the enemy to bring a vast number of guns to play against us, which in the former case would not have injured a man. To vastly enhance the chances of failure involved in this plan to ourselves, our whole attacking force, including supports and everybody else, was limited to some 4000 men; whilst the French, with a much juster appreciation of the difficulty that fell to their share, told off 25,000. Of our handful, again, a large portion consisted of raw recruits, recently arrived to fill up the gaps in the regiments selected for the service—regiments which, with one or two exceptions, had borne the whole brunt of our trench fighting, and suffered accordingly.

Though the bombardment had been kept up rigorously during the whole of the 17th, yet night necessarily put a stop to it; and then the Russians were busily engaged in repairing and strengthening their defences; it was therefore arranged by the Allied generals that at daybreak on the 18th a terrific fire of shot and shell should be poured in to render as many of the guns as possible incapable of mischief. General Pelissier, however, an hour before daybreak rode over to the English camp, and, in consideration of the number of men he would have in the trenches, requested Lord Raglan to consent to an immediate assault on the Malakoff and Redan as soon as day dawned. Lord Raglan consented; and, accordingly, soon after the first streaks of sunlight broke over the horizon, the doomed thousands rushed to defeat and death.

The French plan of assault on the Malakoff appears to have consisted in assailing the work on both flanks simultaneously, and with overwhelming numbers. They found the redoubt swarming with defenders, and guns bristling in every embrasure. The French army of attack was divided into three divisions, headed respectively by General Meyran, General Bronet, and General d'Autemarre, and the intention was to commence operations at three o'clock; but, instead of waiting for the attack, the Russians, at a quarter before three, opened fire on General Meyran's division, placed on the side of the Careening Bay, and decimated it before the two other divisions could recover from their surprise; so that by the time General Pelissier arrived on the ground, which was not till three o'clock, his combinations were irretrievably deranged. So sudden and complete was the destruction dealt on General Meyran's division—the general himself being wounded—that the Russians were able to turn their whole attention on General Bronet, whose division was taken in flank and crippled, and the General killed, by the time the Third Division came up, to be likewise decimated. Thus it was that the Russians took the French by surprise, and were able, as a consequence, to execute the manœuvre which has ever been the aim of great captains, that of beating the enemy in detail.

The manner of the English attack on the Redan was as follows:—The senior brigades of the Light Division, the Second Division, Third Division, and Fourth Division, were to furnish each one column of 1750 men, to whom were joined 60 sailors, and those columns were to be employed against the Redan, and the Cemetery and batteries on the left of the Redan, close to the neck of the Dockyard Creek. The second brigades of these divisions were to be in reserve, and the Guards Brigade and the Highland Brigade were moved up and kept in reserve also for any duty that might occur. The attacking party of the Second Division was

the only exception to these rules, as it was formed of broken brigades. Sir George Brown had the direction of the assault. The 1750 men in each instance were formed of 400 men for the assaulting column, a working party of 400 men to cover them in case of a lodgment and to reverse the work, 800 men as a support, and 100 riflemen or sharpshooters preceding the head of the assaulting column to keep down the fire of the batteries and of the enemy's Chasseurs, and 50 men carrying woolpacks to bridge over the ditches. To these were added 60 sailors, bearing scaling-ladders. The Light Division column was to attack the right of the Redan at the re-entering angle; the Second Division column was to attack the apex after the Light Division and Fourth Division had gained the flanks, and effected a junction along the base of the works, when they were to prevent the consequences of forcing a strong body of the enemy from the flanks into the angle of the Redan. The attacking column of the Light Division was furnished by the 7th Fusiliers, 23rd Welsh, 33rd Regiment, and 34th Regiment. The storming party was led by Colonel Yea, of the 7th. The 19th, 77th, and 88th Regiments, or the Second Brigade, were in reserve, under Colonel Shirley. Soon after twelve o'clock they moved down from camp and took ground in the trenches under the direction of Major Halliwell, the deputy Assistant Quartermaster General of the Division. The Second Division was on their left, the Fourth Division on the left of the Second Division, and the Third Division on the extreme left. The movement was simultaneous, and the troops moved off together till they came into the trenches, from which they were to issue forth to attack the dark wall of earth serrated with embrasures before them.

As the 34th Regiment advanced, the supports by some means or another got mixed together with them, and some confusion arose in consequence. On crossing the trench, our men, instead of coming upon the

open in a firm body, were broken into twos and threes. This arose from the want of a temporary step above the berme, which would have enabled the troops to cross the parapet with regularity; instead of which they had to scramble over it as well as they could; and as the top of the trench was of unequal height and form, their line was quite broken. The moment they came out of the trench the enemy began to direct on their whole front a deliberate and well-aimed *mitraille*, which increased the want of order and unsteadiness caused by the mode of their advance. Poor Colonel Yea saw the consequences too clearly. Having in vain tried to obviate the evil caused by the broken formation and confusion of his men, who were falling fast around him, he exclaimed, "This will never do! Where's the bugler to call them back?" But, alas! at that critical moment no bugler was to be found. The gallant old soldier by voice and gesture, tried to form and compose his men, but the thunder of the enemy's guns close at hand, and the gloom of early dawn frustrated his efforts; and, as he rushed along the troubled mass of troops which were herding together under the rush of grape, and endeavoured to get them into order for a rush at the batteries, which was better than standing still or retreating in a panic, a charge of the deadly missile passed, and the noble soldier fell dead in advance of his men. In the 34th, Captain Shiffner and Capt. Robinson were killed close by their leader, and in a few moments Captain Dwilt, Captain Jordan, Captain Warry, Lieutenant Peel, Lieutenant Alt, Lieutenant Clayton, and Lieutenant Harman, of the same regiment, fell more or less wounded to the ground. Altogether the division lost upwards of 320 men killed and wounded, and it suffered severely as it retired from the futile attack. The signal for our assault was to be given by the discharge of two service-rockets, which were to be fired when the French got into the Malakoff, and the latter were to have hoisted a flag as a signal of their success.

It is certain that the French did for a short time establish themselves in the Malakoff, but they were soon expelled with loss, and several persons say that they saw a large triangular blue and black flag waving from the Malakoff all during the fight. The moment the rockets were fired, the Light Division rushed out of cover; and in a quarter of an hour this infantry Balaklava was over, so far as any chance of success was concerned. Poor Sir John Campbell seems to have displayed a courage amounting to rashness. He sent away Captain Hume and Captain Snodgrass, his Aides-de-Camp, just before he rushed out of the trench, as if averse to bring them into the danger he meditated, and fell in the act of cheering on his men. The 57th, out of 400 men, had more than a third killed and wounded, and it became evident that the contest on the left was as hopeless as the fight on the right, and in fifteen minutes all was over.

The brigade under Major-General Eyre, which was destined to occupy the Cemetery and to carry the Barrack Batteries, consisted of the 9th, 18th, 28th, 38th, and 44th Regiments. Four volunteers from each company were selected to form an advance party, under Major Fielden, of the 44th Regiment, to feel the way and cover the advance. The 18th Royal Irish followed as the storming regiment. The brigade was turned out at twelve o'clock, and proceeded to march down the road on the left of the Greenhill Battery to the Cemetery, and halted under cover while the necessary dispositions were being made for the attack. General Eyre, addressing the 18th, said, "I hope, my men, that this morning you will do something that will make every cabin in Ireland ring again!" The reply was a loud cheer, which instantly drew on the men a shower of grape. The skirmishers advanced just as the general attack began, and, with some French on their left, rushed at the Cemetery, which was very feebly defended. They got possession of the place after a slight resistance, with small loss, and took some prisoners; but the moment the enemy retreated, their batteries

opened a heavy fire on the place from the left of the Redan and from the Barrack Battery. Four companies of the 18th at once rushed out of the Cemetery towards the town, and actually succeeded in getting possession of the suburb. Captain Hayman was gallantly leading on his company when he was shot through the knee. Captain Esmonde followed; and the men, once established, prepared to defend the houses they occupied. As they drove the Russians out they were pelted with large stones by the latter on their way to the battery, which quite overhangs the suburb. The Russians could not depress their guns sufficiently to fire down on our men, but they directed a severe flanking fire on them from an angle of the Redan works. There was nothing for it but to keep up a vigorous fire from the houses, and to delude the enemy into the belief that the occupiers were more numerous than they were. Meantime the Russians did their utmost to blow down the houses, and fired grape incessantly; but the soldiers kept close, though they lost men occasionally, and they were most materially aided by the fire of the regiments in the Cemetery behind them, which was directed at the Russian embrasures; so that the enemy could not get out to fire on the houses below. The 9th Regiment succeeded in effecting a lodgment in the houses in two or three different places, and held their position, as well as the 18th. A sergeant and a handful of men actually got possession of the little Wasp Battery, in which there were only twelve or fourteen Russian artillerymen. They fled at the approach of our men, but when the latter turned round they discovered they were quite unsupported; and the Russians, seeing that the poor fellows were left alone, came down on them and drove them out of the battery. An officer and half-a-dozen men of the same regiment got up close to a part of the Flagstaff Battery, and were advancing into it when they, too, saw that they were by themselves, and, as it was futile to attempt holding their ground, they retreated. About fifteen French soldiers on their left aided them.

but as they were likewise unsupported, they had to retire. Another officer with only twelve men took one of the Russian rifle-pits, bayoneted those they found in it, and held possession of it during the day. Meantime, while those portions of the 5th and 18th and parties of the 44th and 28th were in the houses, the detachments of the same regiments and of the 38th kept up a hot fire from the Cemetery on the Russians in the battery and on the sharpshooters; all the time being exposed to a tremendous shower of bullets, grape, round shot, and shell. The loss of the brigade, under such circumstances, could not but be extremely severe. One part of it, separated from the other, was exposed to a destructive fire in houses, the upper portion of which crumbled into pieces or fell in under fire, and it was only by keeping in the lower story, which was vaulted and well built, that they were enabled to hold their own. The other parts of it, far advanced from our batteries, were almost unprotected, and were under a constant *mitraille* and bombardment from guns which our batteries had failed to touch.

The detachments from the Naval Brigade suffered severely. Two parties of 60 men each were engaged in carrying scaling ladders and wool-bags to place for the stormers; and in this service 14 men were killed and 47 wounded. All the officers but three were either killed or wounded. Lieut. Kidd, in trying to bring in a wounded soldier, was shot in the breast, and died an hour after.

Next morning there was hardly a gun fired on either side; and about twelve o'clock the English hoisted a flag to request the necessary truce for the burial of their dead. The truce was granted, and the dead and wounded were brought in.

During this proceeding a number of Russian officers mingled amongst our party, and, as several of them spoke English fluently, a good deal was said. Their "pumping" inclination, however, was so marked as in most cases to defeat itself; though one of our officers

was guilty of the indiscretion of informing a very suave interrogator that their grape did sad injury to our men in possession of the lately-taken Quarries—a remark which procured his instant order to the rear, by General Airey. It was by one of these polite foes that the inquiry was made of an Englishman whether "our generals had really been drunk or not during the recent assault." The Russians having helped our men to gather in the dead, the whole sad duty was soon performed, and the truce brought to an end.

Sir John Campbell was interred on Cathcart's-hill, his favourite resort, where every one was sure of a kind word and a cheerful saying from the gallant Brigadier. "It was but the very evening before his death," says a correspondent, "that I saw him standing within a few feet of his own grave. He had come to the ground in order to attend the funeral of Captain Vaughan, an officer of his own regiment (the 38th), who died of wounds received two days previously in the trenches, and he laughingly invited one who was talking to him to come and lunch with him next day at the Club-house of Sebastopol."

List of British officers killed on the 6th, 7th, and 18th of June:—Capt. G. Dawson, Lieut. T. G. Lowry, Royal Engineers; Capt. B. H. E. Miller, 2nd Bat. 1st Foot; Lieut. H. M. Lawrence, 34th; Lieut. Richard J. T. Stone, 55th; Major W. F. Dixon, Capt. J. B. Foster, 62nd; Lieut. James Marshall, 68th; Brevet-Major Edward Bayley, Capt. Edward Corbett, Captain Jackson Wray, Lieut. E. H. Webb, 88th; Major-Gen. Sir J Campbell, Bart.; Lieut. J. W. Meurant, 18th; Lieut. O. G. S. Davies, 38th; Capt. Frederick Smith, 9th; Capts. Bowes Fenwick, Hon. C. Agar, F. W. Caulfield, 44th; Capt. J. L. Croker, 17th; Lieut.-Col. Thomas Shadforth, Lieut. J. C. Ashwin, 57th; Colonel L. W. Yea, Lieut. J. S. Hobson, 7th; Lieut. V. Bennett, 33rd.; Capts. John Shiffner, F. Hurt, Lieut. H. D. Alt, 34th; Capt. E. F. Forman, Second Bat. Rifle Brigade; Capt. Wm. Jessie, Lieuts. James Murray, T. Graves, Royal Engineers.

CHAPTER XI.

Death of Lord Raglan—Sir James Simpson appointed Commander of the British Forces.—Battle of the Tchernaya—Bombardment and Fall of Sebastopol.

The closing part of the last chapter referred to the repulse and defeat of the Allied troops in attacking the strongholds of the Russian defences. But though the besiegers had been repulsed, they were still resolute and determined to overcome every obstacle; and the events about to be narrated in this chapter will be an evidence that the Allied forces were fully competent to contend with and overcome their numerous and brave opponents.

In chronicling the events occurring in the Crimea at the close of June, our first painful duty will be to record the death of the British commander-in-chief, Lord Raglan. He had just been called upon to bear the loss of 1600 brave companions-in-arms, in an attack from which much was expected; he knew that his countrymen at home were impatiently waiting for news of the capture of that formidable fortress which had for such a great length of time baffled the besiegers; he knew that his own troops were dissatisfied with the operations of the day; and he also felt that the two armies, French and English, each wished to lay the blame of failure chiefly on the other. On the 18th of June the unsuccessful series of assaults had been made; on the 28th of the same month Lord Raglan expired. True, the assigned cause of death was a malady very prevalent in the camp at that time, cholera; but mental anxiety unquestionably bore a heavy share in producing the result. The last despatch

from Lord Raglan made public was dated June 25th, announcing the death from cholera of Major-general Estcourt, adjutant-general of his army; and the same mail brought a despatch from General Simpson, communicating the sad news that the British commander himself had sunk on the evening of the 28th. Lord Raglan, unwell for some time previously, was pronounced by his medical attendants much better on the morning of that day; nevertheless, as evening approached, he gradually weakened and died.

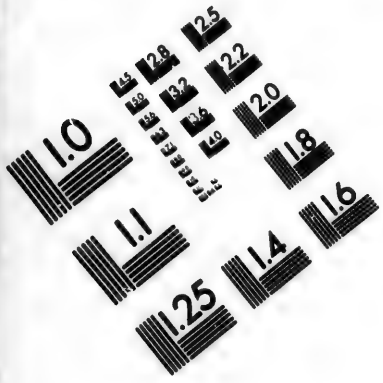
Sir James Simpson, on account of Sir George Brown having left the Crimea through ill health, succeeded to the command of the British forces; though his health was precarious. However, the British government confirmed his appointment; and he engaged in the task to the best of his ability.

During the months of July and August the deaths in the trenches were terrible. The daily booming of cannon, and the unwearied assiduity of the Allies in getting nearer the defences of their antagonists, were the principal events which characterised the month of July and the begining of August.

On the 16th of August, however, occurred an event which reflected great honour on the French and Sardinian troops, and caused dismay and consternation in a large portion of the Russian forces. This was the BATTLE OF THE TCHERNAYA. The following is a description of this brilliant affair:—The Allied Generals had reason to believe that the Russians would attempt, by a vigorous attack, to force them to raise the siege. This they endeavoured to do on the morning of the 16th, but the result was most glorious to those of the Allied troops who had the good fortune to be engaged. The action commenced before daylight, by a heavy column of Russians, under the command of General Liprandi, and composed of the 6th and 17th divisions, with the 4th and 7th divisions in reserve, attacking the advanced posts of the Sardinians. The ground occupied by them was on the commanding hills

on the right of the position, on the left bank of the Souhaia river, where it forms its junction with the Tchernaya, with two advanced posts on the opposite side. These were held with very determined gallantry for a considerable time b[illegible] being separated from their supports by the river a[illegible] having the protection of artillery, they wer[illegible]d to leave the most advanced one. Abou[illegible]e time the 5th and 12th Divisions, to which wa[illegible]d a portion of the 17th, advanced against the br[illegible] of Traktir, held by one battalion of French infantry of the line, who were for a short time obliged to yield and fall back upon the main supports; with these, however, they soon retook the bridge at the point of the bayonet. Again the Russians attacked with persevering courage, and were enabled to follow up their advantage by gaining the heights which rise precipitously on each side of the river: their success was but momentary; they were driven back across the river, leaving the ground covered with dead and wounded.

The Russian General, no way daunted by the failure of his two attempts, ordered a second column, of equal force to the first, to attack; they advanced with such impetuosity, covered by the fire of their numerous artillery, that a third time the bridge was carried, and the heights above it crowned, but they were again repulsed, and retired in great confusion into the plain followed by the bayonets of our gallant allies. The general officer who commanded the Russian column, who was it is supposed General Read, was killed, and in his possession were found the orders for the battle, signed by Prince Gortschakoff, who commanded in person. From these it would appear that it was a most determined attempt to force us to raise the siege. Had they succeeded, Balaklava was to have been attacked by one portion of the army, whilst the heights were to be stormed with the other; at the same time a vigorous sortie was to have been made from the town, on the French works on our extreme left, from the



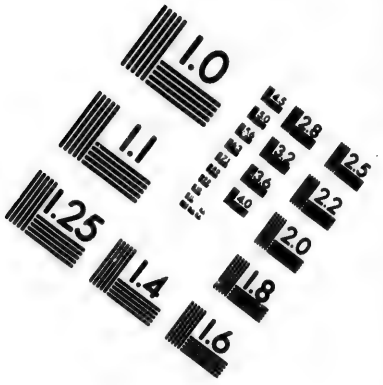
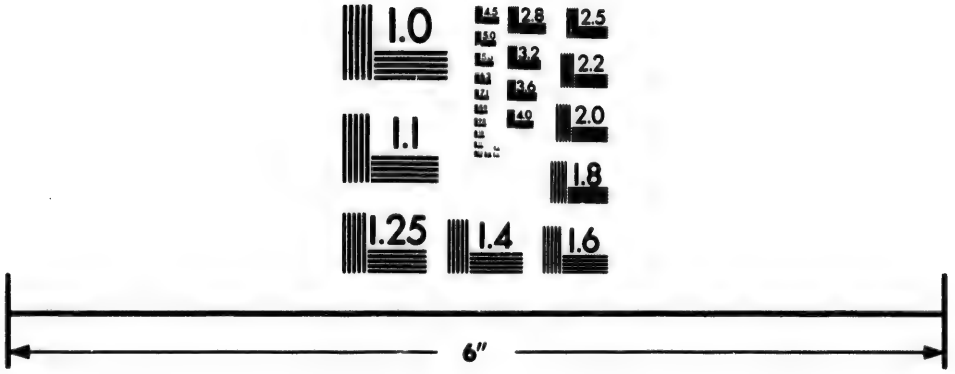
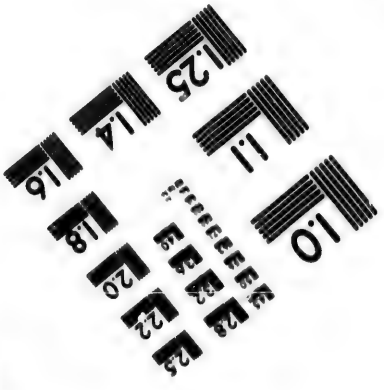


IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)





Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

2.5
2.2
2.0
1.8

Quarantine, and another on the works on our extreme right on Mount Sapoune.

The action was most glorious to the arms of the French and Sardinian troops. To meet the force of the Russians the former had but 12,000 infantry, and four batteries of artillery engaged; the latter had 10,000 men in position, 4500 actually engaged, and 24 pieces of cannon. The Russian forces consisted of from 50,000 to 60,000 men, with 160 pieces of artillery, and cavalry to the amount of 6000. This disparity of numbers will readily explain the difficulty that would have been experienced had an attempt been made to follow up the advantage by a pursuit. The Russian retreat, moreover, was protected by the fire from the heavy guns in position on the Mackenzie heights. The loss sustained by the Russians is estimated at between 5000 and 6000 men, including 600 prisoners; whilst on the part of the Allies it did not amount to more than 1000 men.

This brilliant affair caused the greatest delight amongst the ranks of the Allied army; and while it added fresh lustre to the gallant achievements of the French arms, it is with the utmost pleasure that we have to record the intrepid conduct and gallant bearing of the Sardinian troops, under General Della Marmora, who for the first time met, conquered, and shed their blood against our common enemy, who was then disturbing the peace of Europe. Captain Mowbray's battery of 32-pounder howitzers was placed in advance with the Sardinian troops, and did most excellent service in preventing the advance of the enemy's artillery. Our cavalry, under Lieutenant-General Sir J. Scarlett, K.C.B., was placed in the plain of Balaklava, prepared to take advantage of any circumstance that might present itself, but the opportunity did not arise for calling upon their services.

On this occasion, as at Inkermann, there was hardly any opportunity for the use of cavalry, and none were employed on either side. On our part we had about

8000 horses in readiness, whilst the Russians had in a hollow on their right no less than sixty squadrons drawn up in beautiful order. The battle, in truth, was a very simple one; there was no great manœuvring genius shown in it. It was a preconcerted affair, carried out in a preconcerted way. It was Inkermann over again, minus the energy of the soldiers, for it is the opinion of all who saw them that the Russians fought ill and without vigour.

We regret to say that General Montevecchio, of the Piedmontese army, who was shot with a musket-ball at the approach of the Russians, since died.

Although there were daily cannonadings betwixt the besiegers and the besieged, during the closing days of August and the beginning of September, yet the fire was not anything like brisk, until the 6th, when it assumed a formidable aspect. We now proceed to give a description of the final bombardment and capture of this stronghold of Russian power:—

"The bombardment which had been kept up with less vigour than usual during the night of the 7th, broke out at daybreak into a complete fire from end to end of our lines. It burst over every part of the Russian works with the fury of a tornado, sending up clouds of dust and smoke, which were driven into our camp by a cold north wind, blinding the men whose duty called them to the trenches, and filling the air so densely as to render objects indistinct at a certain distance. As the bombardment commenced, preparations for the assault were made in the camps of the Allies, and numerous regiments were drawn up under arms at dawn. It had been considered proper to forward the men in detachments, and not in columns, so as to keep the enemy as much as possible ignorant of our intentions. The storm was intrusted to the Second and Light Division, portions of which were to form immediate supports, whilst the rear was to be kept by the Fourth Division, the Guards and Highlanders, and the Third Division. Sir William Codrington had the general command of the storm, and was supported by General Markham. At half-past nine all the regiments of the Second and Light Division, as well as the Generals and Staff, had made their way to the trenches: General Codrington taking up his position in the fifth par-

allel, whilst General Markham had his in a pit called Egerton's Pit, in the third parallel. The stormers consisted of portions of the 30th, 41st, 55th, and 62nd, from the Second Division, of the 90th, 97th, 23rd, and 88th, from the Light Division. The ladder parties were told off from the 3rd Buffs and 97th Regiment. The supports of these regiments, as well as other regiments of the same division were in reserve in the fourth and third parallels ready for action. At the foot of the Malakoff had also been massed stormers from the French First Division, consisting of 400 men of the 1st Zouaves and 450 men of the 1st Chasseurs de Vincennes, under the command of General MacMahon. The Fifth Division furnished stormers for the Little Redan and the works on the proper left of the Malakoff. The Second Division kept the trenches, whilst the Fourth was in reserve. General Pelissier and his Staff rode through the British Camp on the way to Inkermann at half-past eleven, passing the Guards and Highlanders as they moved up the Woronzoff road to the trenches. General Simpson took up a position near the Picket-house on the Woronzoff road. There were few spectators on the hills, on account of precautions taken by General Simpson to stop all egress from Balaklava. At a few minutes before noon the bombardment was urged to a terrific blaze of fire, which poured upon the Russians from embrasures purposely kept closed until that moment.

"At ten minutes past twelve the signal for the storm on the Malakoff was given by the explosion of two mines close to the counter-scarp, and in the confusion caused by the smoke and uproar the Zouaves and Chasseurs rushed on. They made their way over ground ploughed up by the explosion of shells, and full of holes, and elevations of jagged and irregular formation. Their speed was scarcely impeded by this obstacle, and they jumped down the ditch and up the sides of the works without using the scaling-ladders. The Russians, who were completely taken by surprise, were driven out of the redoubt or killed, and left the French perfect masters of it; the short distance of twenty-five yards, which separated the ditch of the Malakoff from the parallel, contributing not a little to the fortunate issue of the storm. In the meanwhile two other attacks had been almost simultaneously made upon the Russians with far less fortunate results. General Codrington, hearing the signal for assault on the Malakoff, after a short pause gave the order to storm the Redan. The ladder-parties of the 3rd and 95th dashed out, and favoured by

tolerably even ground, passed the abattis which was no sensible obstacle to their progress, and planted their ladders on the salient angle of the work. The stormers, less active than they had been, were delayed by their inability to issue from the parallel, except by one aperture, and when they succeeded in reaching the scarp of the Redan, the ladder-party had already mounted to the assault. The stormers followed, mounting on each side of the salient angle, and fought their way into the Redan, killing the Russians within the first traverse; but, in their eagerness to outstrip each other, the parties on the left pressed across the work to join those on the right, and in doing so fall into the concentrated fire of the enemy, whose supports, upwards of 2000 in number, were rapidly coming up. A hand-to-hand conflict followed, desperate in its nature,—the Russians fighting for the hold with the tenacity of bears, and using every sort of missile, in addition to their arms. Stones, loose grape, stocks of broken muskets, were hurled in broken volleys from the summit of the traverses, on our men, whose ammunition began to fail. They in their turn grasped at stones, and hurled them against the Russians; who now, encouraged by the arrival of reinforcements and the diminution of our men, poured down upon our devoted stormers, and fought with them hand to hand. Many were the despairing efforts that then took place—men clung to men, and the agony of both was undergone on the same spot. This was too terrible to last. Either our Generals must bring on supports, or the stormers retreat. The former was delayed, and the remnant of our men gave way in disorder from the parapets and embrasures which they had so gallantly stormed. At this time there were several regiments in the 3rd, 4th, and 5th parallels which did not move sufficiently quick, and were not in time to save the relics of the stormers. The Redan was thus won and lost. The French attack on the Little Redan and works upon the Careening Bay were failures for other reasons. The troops moved resolutely on, rapidly crossing a broad space which lay between them and the Russian redoubts. They were thrown into considerable confusion by rows of holes called *trous a loup*, into which the men stumbled in the midst of the darkness caused by dust and smoke; their attack was deprived by this of its firmness, and was repulsed by the enemy. The struggle, however, was maintained doubtfully for a considerable time. The first body of stormers, almost annihilated by the musketry of the Russians, covered the parapets of the works with their

bodies; when fresh supports came up, and struggled to gain the summit of the scarp; but at every fresh attempt they fell back discomfited into the ditch, covering the ground with dead and dying. The Russians not only had the advantage of position, but they had been materially assisted in this portion of the attack by the fire of the steamers which fired broadsides upon the Malakoff and the counterscarpe of the Little Redan. The *Vladimir*, always so ably handled that, when anything daring was done by the Russians, the French said "*c'est de Vladimir*," steamed rapidly up under the very mouths of the French batteries on Mount Sapoune, delivered her broadside, and then majestically steaming round, delivered a second, without eliciting in the confusion any reply from the French. These broadsides committed dreadful havoc, and threw the ranks of the assaulting columns into inextricable confusion. Notwithstanding every adverse circumstance, however, the French maintained their ground at the foot of the scarp and in the ditch of the Little Redan and Black Batteries, firing resolutely at every Russian who showed himself over the parapet, whilst the Russians on their part were equally quick in returning shot for shot when a Frenchman raised his person more than usual. This part of the fight partook at last of a certain Indian character, the struggle from cover to cover resembling those of which we have all read in the glowing pages of Cooper.

"These painful phases of the combined assault proceeded whilst the main attack on the Malakoff rapidly lost its early characteristics. The ditch about the Malakoff was about fifteen feet deep, and the scarp twenty feet high. The embrasures and platforms were elevated above the level of the work, which was divided into parts by traverses of irregular shape, in which small openings were made for the passage of men. These traverses were mostly quarried works, the galleries of which were supported by double rows of gigantic beams of Norway pine, and the height of earth forming the roof made every vault bomb-proof. The traverses generally measured 12 to 15 feet in height, and being most irregular in their form must have rendered complete possession extremely difficult. The Redan was similarly arranged internally. The very security of the soldiers in these strongholds must have increased a chance of surprise, and the instant occupation of the work and destruction of its defenders in a short period are a proof of it. The Russians, however, did not passively allow their enemy to enjoy his new possession. They had

no sooner been driven out than they attacked the French with the energy of despair, and the Zouaves and Chasseurs found themselves defenders instead of assaulters of the Malakoff. The Russians trusted more to stones and missiles of that nature than to their muskets, and from the summits of the traverses they heaved all kinds of miscellaneous articles, such as stones, beams, buckets, old grape-shot, and muskets. The French, short of ammunition, replied with the same weapons, varying their resistance by rushes at the point of the bayonet. They were giving way, however, before the advancing Russians, discouraged by intelligence of impending failure at the Redan and Black Works; but, at the critical moment, the supports of the division marched up, and entered the work on all sides. The Imperial Guard, consisting of Grenadiers and Zouaves, swarmed into the Malakoff and commenced a desperate conflict. Hand to hand amongst the labyrinthine windings of the redoubt, amongst shell-holes, broken gabions, and irregular elevations, each side fought and bled. They fell side by side, and in many instances above each other. The ground was strewed with them so as to be completely invisible. To add to the horror of the moment the shells from the Redan and steamers fell in numbers upon the portion of the work in possession of the French, and added to the heaviness of their losses. But the Russians were unable to regain the Malakoff. As the French poured in fresh supports every moment, and brought in field artillery over a hasty bridge into the redoubt, the Russians slowly yielded, and commenced a retreat which ended in a rout. The scene of it was the way leading from the Dockyard to the Malakoff, a road traced inside of the second line of defence, to which the Russians trusted as a means of retrieving their losses. The rapidity of the French movement when the Russians first commenced their retreat, prevented the latter from using their second line of defence efficaciously. The hand-to-hand conflict down the descent did not enable them to kill a foe without destroying a friend; and thus the French passed down from the Malakoff towards the town until they came to the base of the hill, and on a level with the Dockyard. From that spot they receded, moving to their right, and driving the Russians through the streets of the Karabelnaia suburb; whilst the field artillery and some of the lighter guns left in the Malakoff were turned against the second line of defence, which it successfully enfiladed. Darkness now supervened, and the Russians, under its cover, withdrew from the works of the Karabelnaia, the Little Redan, and Black Battery.

"The capture of the Malakoff, and failure of the attacks on the Redan and works of Careening Bay, were not the only episodes of the day on which the Allies finally established a footing in the heart of the Russian defences. General Pelissier had combined his attack in such a manner as to prevent the enemy from concentrating heavy masses against any point of our approach. It had been previously concerted that, whilst the Black Batteries, Malakoff, and Redan, were assaulted at noon, storming columns should be moved against the Central Bastion and the Flagstaff Redoubt on the western side of Sebastopol. Had all these attacks been simultaneous, success would probably have crowned the efforts of the Allies on more than one point, and the French might have established a firm footing on the west, whilst we effected a lodgment on the Redan. The operations were not undertaken simultaneously, perhaps because the commanders were unwilling to risk the loss of life consequent upon failure, had we been repulsed at all points. The Malakoff was therefore stormed first, and the attacks on the other points undertaken afterwards. The consequence was that time was given to the Russians to make preparations, which rendered their resistance effectual on all but the first point, spiritedly carried and maintained by the French.

"The failure of the French storm of the Central Bastion remains to be recorded. The columns, concentrated in close proximity to the work, were formed at an early part of the day; but the signal to storm was not given till two o'clock in the afternoon. The enemy had an imposing force concentrated in expectation of the attack, as the fierce bombardment, kept up for sixty-two hours on the left on the French, had led him to anticipate the most powerful assault there. In consequence of this, 30,000 men were moved to that point; while the deficiencies on the proper left of the position were made good by draughting the 14th Division into the town. The storming parties of the French rushed firmly on to the assault, and effected a lodgment in the Central Bastion after a short and spirited combat. The Russians were either killed or driven out, and left the work in the hands of the stormers; but this success was momentary. Heavy masses were speedily advanced to the front, which engaged the assaulting party with all the advantage of freshness. The contest then assumed a close and deadly aspect, and the French, overpowered by a shower of missiles of every description, were forced to draw back in the same way as our stormers had

retired from the Redan. A short time elapsed, and the red forms of our allies were observed falling back over the parapets of the Central Bastion, jumping down into the ditch, and scrambling up the counterscarp. A momentary panic was then visible, in the midst of which the French General in command (whose name we regret to be unable to record) rallied his men in a most gallant manner, and led them a second time to the assault. This second effort was apparently as irresistible as the first, and the stormers again made their way into the body of the work, notwithstanding prodigious efforts on the part of the Russians. Another struggle in the bastion followed, and, fresh supports coming up to the enemy, the French again wavered, and failing in ammunition, assailed by stones, cold grape, and pickaxes, they were finally forced out of the work, and the Russians left masters of the field. This was the only action fought on the western side of Sebastopol, the attack on the Flagstaff Bastion having been abandoned after the failure of that on the Central Redoubt.

"One grand result compensated the Allies for the carnage which had marked the operation of the day. The Malakoff taken, gave us such a hold over the remainder of the town, that it was obvious the Russians could not remain there. The movements of the French Generals on this successful point were vigorous and decisive. They turned not only the first, but also the second line of Russian defence, exposing the rear of the Redan to a sweeping fire, which was immediately opened from the Malakoff with guns captured in the place, and those which had been dragged into the redoubt in rear of the stormers. At sunset every disposition had been made to maintain the advantages obtained, and a dropping fire from the Russians in the Karabelnaia suburb alone told where isolated contests showed the despairing energies of the besieged pitted against the persevering efforts of the besiegers. Gradually, as the gloom of night spread its dark mantle over the town, a mournful silence succeeded to the roar of battle, and songs of victory alone broke the stillness of the atmosphere as the wind moaned against the innumerable tents of the Allied Camps, and swiftly drove heavy lowering clouds over the dark grey of the sky. The crowds which had assembled on the hills, hovering round and swooping at times upon the wayworn soldiers who straggled from the field to give the details of the victory, gradually thinned and disappeared. A hum as of a mass moving through Sebastopol was then heard, and presently portentous clouds of smoke

were seen to issue from the houses which lay clustered along the sides of the harbour. From the base of the columns of smoke flames then began to issue, and as midnight came, glaring masses of flame burst out from the town and proclaimed the Russians vanquished and retreating. Undisturbed in their work of destruction, the enemy were allowed to proceed; and as the forked fire illuminated the horizon, spreading from house to house, and obscuring the sky with dense masses of smoke and vapour, a few belated spectators witnessed the scene of a burning city destroyed by its defenders. The flames spread rapidly from street to street, and the stillness of the night, and the howling of the elements, was broken by a series of terrible explosions, which startled the echoes of surrounding hills, shaking the ground for miles, and casting up burning fragments from the earth high into the air as forts and redoubts were blown up. The ships of the Allies, wearing at their anchors, were illuminated by the glare which burst from the magazines of the works along the shore, as they were exploded in succession by the retreating Russians. Then the roar of the flames gained the ascendant over all other sounds, and whilst flitting forms were seen amongst burning masses, the retreat commenced. Long before the columns of the Russians began to cross the bridge of rafts on their way to the north, the Redan had been occupied by the Highland brigade in charge of the trenches. Volunteers from several regiments entered the work shortly after midnight, and found it deserted of defenders. At dawn the masses of the enemy were still swiftly crossing the bridge and lining the hills of the Severnaia, whilst the *Vladimir* and other steamers covered the passage with their broadsides. With the exception of these the harbour was tenantless of any floating vessel, except boats. The stately three-deckers which had so proudly rested on the waters of Sebastopol were sunk, and their places only marked by the breaking of the waters over their white masts, as the waves were dashed along them by a north-east gale. Shortly after day-break the last straggler of the Russian army had abandoned the south side, and the bridge of rafts was cut adrift and taken in tow by the steamers. The only souls in the town were convicts left to keep up the fire of the town, who did their work with unflagging energy; but who were not left undisturbed in their labours, as crowds of soldiers—chiefly French—entered the town even before the Russians retreated; and, fearless of the explosions which took place at intervals, ransacked the

houses, and either took the incendiaries prisoners or shot them when they met. Few sights can be conceived more grand than that of Sebastopol burning in the morning. The western side was in a mass of blaze, and flames were issuing from the largest buildings. The churches alone were spared, and the mushroom steeple of one, as well as the Athenian columns of another, and the pointed spires of a third, were fitfully thrown into light when the north-east wind wafted the smoke into the air, and removed the curtain of flames which at times covered the scene. Light red and yellow smokes were relieved by black ones of equal density, and at the base of all shone the flames which fed them. Fort Nicholas, the dockyard buildings, and the Naval Hospital, were illuminated by the sheer hulk, which burnt with uncommon brilliancy; and the Karabelnaia suburb, which had been so thoroughly destroyed as to require no further efforts of the Russians, loomed duskily in the distance. Between the dockyard and the suburb, Fort Paul stood perfect in light, and all behind was in partial obscurity."

Thus terminated the great siege of Sebastopol, which had been in progress nearly a year; which had involved the construction of 70 miles of trenches, and the employment of 60,000 fascines, 80,000 gabions, and 1,000,000 sand-bags; and during which more than 1,500,000 shells and shot had been fired at or into the town from the mortars and cannon of the besiegers!

List of officers killed on the 8th of September:—Deputy Assistant Commissary W. Hayter, Royal Artillery; Lieuts. L. L. G. Wright, C. Colt, 7th Foot; Lieut. P. Godfrey, 19th; Lieut. R. H. Somerville, Lieut. and Adjt. D. Dynely, 53rd; Lieut.-Col. J B. Patulls, Capt. J. C. N. Stephenson, Ensign R. G. Deane, 30th; Lieut. H. G. Donovan, 33rd; Lieut.-Col. J. Eman, C. B., Capts. E. Every, J. A. Lockhart, 41st; Capt. G. Rochfort, 49th; Brevet Lieut.-Col. W. H. Cuddy, 55th; Capt. L. A. Cox, Lieut. L. Blakiston, 62nd; Capt. W. Parker, 77th; Capt. H. W. Grogan, 88th; Capts. H. Preston, H. M. Vaug-

han, Lieuts. A. D. Swift, H. F. Wilmer, 20th; Lieut.-Col. Hon. H. R. Handcock, Major A. F. Welsford, Capt. J. Hutton, Lieut. and Adjt. A. D. M'Gregor, 97th; Capt. M. M. Hammond, Lieut. H. S. Ryder, 2nd Bat. Rifle Brigade.

INCIDENTS CONNECTED WITH THE FINAL BOMBARDMENT.

The heroic course which Colonel (now General) Windham took in the assault on the Redan may be reckoned amongst the most glorious achievements of the war. The difficulties with which the storming party had to contend, from the superior numbers and position of the enemy, and from a general impression entertained by the soldiers that the place was mined, and that they might be at any moment blown up, the frightful and disproportionate loss of officers, who fell by reason of their prominence in endeavouring to dissipate an undue apprehension of the kind—we are told that the Brigadiers capable of guiding the attack were reduced to one—Col. Windham. This gallant officer did more than could be expected of human energy to accomplish, in order to obtain a prompt and adequate reserve, with which he felt the Redan might have been held, despite any amount of force the Russians could bring to bear upon them. Three times did Colonel Windham send officers to Sir E. Codrington for reinforcements; for, though the need of help must have been obvious to the superior officer placed in a position to command the entire attack, none came. All three officers failed to deliver their message, in consequence of being wounded whilst attempting to pass from the ditch to the rear of the Redan. The Colonel's Aide-de-Camp, Lieut. Gwire, was next despatched, but he, also, was dangerously wounded as he went on his perilous errand. For an hour the enemy were mowing our men down by hundreds, and even the small driblets that from time to time arrived, were so disordered from the fire to which they were exposed, as to be almost useless. At length Colonel Windham determined upon taking a course which, for personal daring and recklessness of his own life, has rarely been paralleled. A Russian officer stepped over the breastwork, and tore down a gabion with his own hands; it was to make room for a field-piece. Colonel Windham exclaimed to several sol-

diers who were firing over the parapet, "Well, as you are so fond of firing, why don't you shoot that Russian?" They fired a volley, and missed him, and soon afterwards the field piece began to play on the head of the salient with grape. Colonel Windham saw there was no time to be lost. He had sent three officers for reinforcements, and, above all, for men in formation, and he now resolved to go to General Codrington himself. Seeing Capt. Crealock, of the 90th, near him, busy in encouraging his men, and exerting himself with great courage and energy to get them into order, he said, "I must go to the General for supports. Now, mind, let it be known, in case I am killed, why I went away." He crossed the parapet and ditch and succeeded in gaining the fifth parallel, through a storm of grape and rifle-bullets, in safety. General Codrington asked him if he thought he really could do anything with such supports as he could afford, and said he might take the Royals, who were then in the parallel. "Let the officers come out in front—let us advance in order, and if the men keep their formation, the Redan is ours," was the Colonel's reply; but he spoke too late—for at that very moment the men were seen leaping down into the ditch, or running down the parapet of the salient, and through the embrasures out of the work into the ditch, while the Russians followed them with the bayonet and with heavy musketry, and even threw stones and grape-shot at them as they lay in the ditch. Colonel Windham is universally allowed, by the course which he took, to have retrieved, in his own person, the honour of the army on that day, aided by those brave men who fell for the most part at his side in the attempt to sustain this unequal contest. These eminent services are thus recognised in the General Order for Colonel Windham's promotion:—The Queen has also been most graciously pleased to command that Colonel Charles Ash Windham, C.B., shall be promoted to the rank of Major-General, for his distinguished conduct in heading the column of attack which assaulted the enemy's defences, on the 8th of September, with the greatest intrepidity and coolness, as specially brought to the notice of her Majesty in the public despatch of the Commander of the Forces, dated the 14th of September, 1855.

A sapper, who was exploring the batteries of the Redan, just as the Russians were evacuating the town, discovered a rather large cable, which he cut in two by a blow of an axe, and then called the attention of the officers to it.

On further examination it was found to be of thick metallic wire, covered with a coating of gutta percha. This wire led to a very large powder magazine dug under the Redan, and the discovery of which made the boldest tremble when they thought of the frightful explosion from which they had escaped. The wire came from across the town as far as the sea, which it crossed to the other shore, from whence the electric spark was to be despatched to set fire to the volcano. It was discovered just at the nick of time, as the last soldier had not yet evacuated the town when the forts blew up, one after the other, filling the trenches with the ruins.

As soon as it was dawn (Sunday, 9th) the French began to steal from their trenches into the burning town, undismayed by the flames, by the terrors of those explosions, by the fire of a lurking enemy, or by the fire of their own guns, which kept on slowly discharging cannon-shot and grape into the suburbs at regular intervals, possibly with the very object of deterring stragglers from risking their lives. But red breeches and blue breeches, tepi and Zouave fez, could soon be distinguished amid the flames, moving from house to house. Before five o'clock there were numbers of men coming back with plunder, such as it was; and Russian relics were offered for sale in camp before the Russian battalions had marched out of the city. The sailors, too, were not behind-hand in looking for "loot;" and Jack could be seen staggering under chairs, tables, and lumbering old pictures, through every street, and making his way back to the trenches with vast accumulations of worthlessness. Several men lost their lives by explosions on this and the following day.

My first entry into the interior, on the morning after its abandonment, was made by a bridge of broken fascines and gabions laid hastily over the dead bodies that had just been gathered into the ditch for burial, which has since been done by levelling over them a portion of the parapet above. The ghastly piles nearly filled the vast trench to a level with the outer surface, and the thin covering of earth which concealed them from view barely fell below the summit of the low bank in front. What first struck one in passing up the cut made by our sappers through the broad parapet was the unusual solidity and strength of this last, averaging thirty or thirty-five feet along its entire front. On such a solid mass of gabions, fascines, sand-bags and

earth, I need hardly say that artillery of even the heaviest calibre could have no sensible effect: sixty-eight or ninety-eight pound shot might enter, but they could not penetrate. Compared with this massive structure of mud and wickerwork, the thickest of our own or the French works is as paper to a deal board. Then within, besides the great superiority of their mantles, strong ropen curtains hung across the embrasures to shelter the gunners from the besiegers' riflemen. You admire the cover provided for their artillerymen when not actually working the guns, in little retreats proof against any but the very heaviest splinters of shell. But these, again, are nothing when compared with the shot and shell-proof chambers for the shelter of larger bodies of troops, which abound throughout the work. I dived into several of these half subterranean waiting-rooms, and found many of them fitted up with fireplaces, cooking conveniences, benches, and other suitable furniture; whilst in others of smaller dimensions, and which had evidently been occupied by the officers, there were in addition bedsteads, chairs, tables, and in some even handsomely glased cupboards, containing empty wine-bottles, and other traces of their occupants' regard for creature comforts. On the shelf in one of them I lighted on a cheap Farringdon-street reprint of "Paul Clifford," and an old copy of the "Illustrated London News,"—the latter with sundry engravings of scenes from the siege.—*Daily News Correspondent.*

General Pelissier says:—"Of the 4000 cannon found at Sebastopol, at least 50 are of brass. Others were thrown into the roadstead at the time of their retreat. I have ordered them to be sought for. We have already taken 200,000 kilogrammes of powder away from the place, and there is still more to be found. The number of projectiles will exceed 100,000. A despatch from Admiral Bruat, of the same date, announces that the vessels of the Allies destroyed in the Sea of Azof, between the 6th and 11th of September, five fisheries on the coast of Serviank, and 63 in the lakes and rivers of the neighbouring coast; they burnt 31 storehouses, containing nets or provisions, and 66 boats laden with provender and provisions."

Some of the Highlanders went into the Redan on Sunday morning, and finding it altogether abandoned, providentially left it immediately for their former position. They had no sooner done so than a mine was sprung, and a

tremendous explosion followed. The enemy had very probably perceived our entrance, for which they had been waiting, and then caused the explosion. Our allies were not so fortunate on the right. The 11th Regiment of the Line and other troops, who had assailed the Little Redan, were establishing themselves there for the night. Just about the time when the explosion occurred in the Redan opposite to our works, another mine was sprung in the Little Redan. It produced a frightful effect, hurling a great number of French into the air, and scorching or otherwise injuring many more. It is said that as many as three hundred suffered by this explosion. The prudence of the French engineers prevented a similar catastrophe at the Malakoff. They had examined for mines and galleries, and had come across a large pipe charged with gunpowder. This they had carefully cut asunder, and they had separated each end from communication with the other. It was subsequently proved to be a channel of communication between the mine in the Little Redan and one in the Malakoff; had it not been that the continuity of this tube had been destroyed, an explosion in the Malakoff would have taken place almost simultaneously with that in the Little Redan, and numbers must have perished.

The English had 29 officers, 36 sergeants, 6 drummers, 314 rank and file, killed; 124 officers, 142 sergeants, 12 drummers, 1608 rank and file, wounded; 1 officer, 12 sergeants, 163 rank and file, missing. Total—Killed, 385; wounded, 1886; missing, 176—2447.

The French had 5 Generals killed, 4 wounded, 6 contused; 24 superior officers killed, 20 wounded, and 6 missing; 116 subaltern officers killed, 224 wounded, and 8 missing; 1469 sous officers and soldiers killed, 4259 wounded, and 1400 missing. Total French loss, 7551.

In the month of June, a squadron from the fleet in the Black Sea, under the command of Capt. E. M. Lyons and Monsieur de Sedaiges, did much execution, and caused great havoc and destruction to Russian property. The squadron first visited Taganrog, and summoning the governor to surrender all the government stores, a refusal was returned; when the squadron commenced bombarding the town, and, in a short time, the long ranges of stores of grain, plank, and tar, and

the vessels on the stocks, were in a blaze, as well as the Custom-house, and other government buildings, and unfortunately, but unavoidably, the town in many places. The loss of the enemy must have been severe, as many were seen to fall. A Russian sergeant who deserted, stated the number of troops in the town to have been 3200. A Russian war-schooner, which had been run on shore near the town and abandoned, was set fire to and burnt; and so was a large raft of timber.

Anapa was also visited by a squadron under the command of Rear-Admiral Houstan Stewart, and, after holding out for a short time, the Russians evacuated the place, first spiking the guns and burning the barracks and other buildings, and destroying large quantities of grain and other stores. The powder magazines were all exploded; and the troops, which were estimated at seven or eight thousand, retired on the Kouban River, which they crossed by a bridge, and then destroyed it.

The squadron under Captain Lyons and Monsieur de Sedaiges likewise proceeded to Marogoul, Ghiesk, and Kiten, destroying large quantities of grain, flour, hay, &c. besides many other stores, buildings, and materials of various kinds. The conflagration was so great at some of those places, that it lasted for several days. Thus, in the space of two or three weeks, the Sea of Azof was swept by the Allied squadrons, and the enemy deprived of the supplies which existed in the different depôts, and also of the means of transporting the coming crops.

On the 15th of October, the Allied squadron appeared before KINBURN. The weather, however, being very squally, operations could not be commenced for two days; the forts continued during these two days firing upon the vessels, but without doing much damage. The following account of the Bombardment and Capture of Kinburn, is from a *private correspondent* of one of the papers:—

"Wednesday, 17th. The anniversary of the naval attack upon Sebastopol was fine enough to permit the combined fleets to attack. The wind was blowing from off shore, and the swell subsided. This was indispensable, because many of the line-of-battle ships were drawing 26 feet water, and they were to anchor and attack with only two or three feet water under their keels. This was a ticklish job, in a narrow difficult channel, hitherto almost unknown to us. Well, at eight a.m. the sand-batteries opened at a steamer and gun-boat which forced their way inside the spit. The French floating batteries were smoking up, preparing to go in, and at 9. 30 they opened a tremendous fire at 500 yards, from twelve large guns on each broadside. At ten the mortar-boats opened fire, three French gun-boats were working along from the southward, by the shore, where the troops had been landed. The boats of the *Firebrand*, *Furious*, and *Leopard* had been digging out their own paddle-box boats and flats which had been swamped in the surf, and were half buried in the sand. At 10. 15 these steamers weighed and proceeded to the flag-ship. At this moment fifteen gun-boats were blazing away over the mortar-boats and batteries. Some heavily-armed French steamers and the *Odin* were firing. Shells were bursting over the fort, which was firing very rapidly. The Russian gunners could be seen, standing up boldly on the rampart, sponge and rammer in hand, loading and firing away as if they were at exercise. When one was knocked over, another jumped up. Three of them were enough to work each gun; one to work the elevating-screw and let the gun slip down the incline to run it out; one to lay and fire (the recoil sent it in again); one man to sponge, &c. This accounts for their killed being so few. 11. 30. Signal made to *Valorous* to weigh immediately; also to *Sidon*, *Curacoa*, and *Gladiator* to follow; *Firebrand* to go in at once, engaging batteries at both sides. The two earth-and-sand batteries on the spit were spitting away merrily

out of their ugly mouths. It was not a pleasant thing to look at their square black embrasures, looking like five or six old black tobacco-stained teeth stuck in a fury's upper gum, and to see they were only waiting to get you in a favourable position to open fire upon you at 500 yards. The *Curacoa* went in at them in a business-like way; the *Dauntless* very gingerly and circumspectly indeed—remarkably careful; but the *Terrible* hammered them so hard as almost to bury them in a heap of stony sand. She did her work admirably, and nearly shut them up. It was a brilliant sight to see the *Valorous*, *Sidon*, *Firebrand*, and *Gladiator* run in to 800 yards, engaging north shore; then run down to within 500 yards of the sand battery, engaging that; and then float into the calm waters at the Dnieper's mouth, where few British ships have floated before. Noon. The liners going to work. The barracks in the fort burning fiercely, especially round where the Russian colours were hoisted. Their guns firing rapidly still. 12. 30. The line-of-battle ships opened at once; the *Hannibal* alone bestowed her attentions at a most respectable distance upon the sand-batteries. Her brave Admiral Stewart had gone into the *Valorous*. But this was not peril enough, so he hoisted his pretty white ensign on a small steam gun-boat, the little *Pilot Fish*, in front of all, and there he led in his little squadron like a gallant dashing fellow as he is. 2. 30. A flag of truce was hoisted, and the whole Russian garrison marched out under arms. The gunners from the sand-forts marched in, bearing on stretchers their wounded; one dead; they buried him, stretcher and all, in the sand, stuck up a rude cross at his head, and marched doggedly on. The Allied troops marched into the fort, and the union of Red Ensign and Tri-colour was seen on high. The General and officers of the Russian battalion were made to pile their arms outside the fort. The muskets were new, and in first-rate condition. They walked on, bearing the banners and ornaments of their church,

and were placed under a French guard at the head-quarters, about three miles south of the town. They formed one complete battalion, two Colonels, 4 Majors, 4 Captains, and about 1200 men. The loss is said to be about 100 killed and wounded, very few being killed. The English lost two men by the bursting of 68-pounder guns of the *Arrow* gun-boat, one or two wounded. The French lost about 27, in their floating batteries."

Subsequently the fortress of Otchakoff, on the right bank of the Bug, was blown up by the Russians, and the place evacuated.

The operations of the squadron in the White Sea in 1855, were confined to blockading the ports, and the capture of a few prizes.

On the 10th of September the Admiralty received despatches from Admiral Bruce, commander-in-chief of the vessels on the Pacific station, stating that the Russian squadron had departed from Petropaulovski, and that the place was completely evacuated. It appeared that, since 1854, the Russians had constructed some formidable batteries; these, however, were utterly destroyed by the British forces. Two men, belonging to the fleet which visited the station in 1854, had been left; these were, through the exertions of Admiral Bruce, delivered up to the English, who brought them away. The squadron diligently searched every port and inlet in order to discover if any vessel belonging to the enemy remained on or near the station; but no enemy could be discovered, except a Russian whaler, of about 400 tons, which was deserted; this vessel the Admiral ordered to be destroyed.

CHAPTER XII.

THE BALTIC FLEET—OPERATIONS IN THE BALTIC—THE HANGO MASSACRE—THE FLEET BEFORE CRONSTADT—BOMBARDMENT OF SWEABORG—THE WAR IN ASIA—CAPITULATION OF KARS—MISCELLANEOUS EVENTS.

THE preceding chapter is a record of sanguinary and bloody conflicts—great and glorious achievements. This will be an epitome of a rather different character. Although the fleets which proceeded to the Baltic Sea in 1854 and 1855 were perhaps the most complete and formidable that ever ploughed the waters of any sea, yet their achievements were not what was anticipated. This, however, through the cautiousness of the enemy was a natural consequence; for where no foe appeared, no foe could be conquered. But though no Russian fleet was destroyed in the Baltic, many vessels and large quantities of property were destroyed; and the blockade of the different ports harassed and punished the enemy in a very severe manner. The surrender of Kars was an event which caused sorrow and deep regret in the bosoms of many.

The Baltic Fleet of 1855 was much stronger both in the number of vessels and men, than that of 1854; and the fleet of 1854 was composed of a mixture of sailing vessels and steamers, but the fleet of 1855 consisted wholly of steam-ships. The fleet numbered 50 steamers; and in addition there were 28 gun-boats, 8 mortar-vessels, and 4 floating batteries, hospital-ship, shell magazines, and powder-magazine. The *Duke of Wellington* carried the flag of Rear-Admiral the Hon. R. S. Dundas, C.B., commander of the fleet.

The fleet left Spithead on the 4th of April, and steamed out to sea in splendid order. When the fore-

most vessels entered the Baltic they encountered much ice, and were placed in rather disagreeable circumstances thereby. The English fleet arrived at Kiel on 22nd of April, and were joined by the French fleet, under the command of Admiral Penaud. The first intelligence received from the fleet was of a startling and distressing nature. In the middle of June, the telegraph reported that a cold-blooded atrocity had been committed by large force of Russian troops on a small party of British sailors, in a boat under the command of Lieutenant Geneste, who was conveying, under a flag of truce, three prisoners who had been taken in a merchant vessel, to the shore. This diabolical transaction took place off Hango Head. Admiral Dundas despatched Captain Fanshawe to the scene of this catastrophe, to make inquires, and gain what particulars he could of the affair. The following is the statement given by Captain Fanshawe to Admiral Dundas :—

"H.M. Steam-ship *Cossack*, Nargen Islands,
7th June, 1855.

"Sir,—It is with the deepest concern that I have to report to you the destruction of a cutter's crew and the officers who went into Hango with a flag of truce yesterday, the 5th inst., in order to land the three prisoners who had been taken with some merchant vessels by her Majesty's ships *Cossack* and *Esk*, and also four others to whom I gave a passage to Nargen, they having received their liberty from the prize officers of the vessels captured by her Majesty's steam-ship *Magicienne*.

"The ship having arrived off Hango Island yesterday forenoon, the boat was despatched at eleven a.m., in charge of Lieut. Geneste, with orders to land the above persons, and to return without delay, taking care that no one straggled from the boat. The officers' stewards were allowed to go in the boat on the same conditions, as was also, at his request, Mr. Easton, surgeon of this ship.

"The inclosed statement of what occurred on the boat's approaching the shore is that of the only man who has returned alive, and I have every reason to believe it correct.

"Finding that the boat did not duly return, I sent the

First Lieutenant, about half-past four p.m., in the gig, also with a flag of truce, to ascertain the cause of the delay; and as neither had returned at the close of the day, I anchored with this ship and the *Rob* in the inner roads.

"The gig returned about half-past eight, after a long search, having discovered the cutter hauled within a small jetty, and containing the dead bodies of two or three of her crew.

"It being then late, I made arrangements that the ships should weigh at half-past two o'clock a.m., and take positions as close to the inner village and telegraph station as possible; and, as I then supposed that the rest of the crew and officers had been made prisoners, I proposed to send in a letter to the nearest military authority, demanding that they and the boat should be given up.

"But whilst getting under way the cutter was observed to leave the shore with one man at the stern, who was endeavouring to scull her out. I therefore immediately sent a boat to her assistance, which brought her on board, and she was found to contain the dead bodies of four of the crew, which were riddled with musket-balls.

"The man who came out in the boat made the accompanying statement of the details of this atrocious massacre; he is very dangerously wounded in the right arm and shoulder, and was left for dead in the boat; but the account he gives of what he saw before he was struck down is clear and consistent,—viz., that on the boat reaching the jetty, Lieutenant Geneste, Mr. Easton, surgeon, Mr. Sullivan, master's assistant, and the Russian prisoners, stepped on shore, and advanced a few paces, Lieutenant Geneste carrying and waving a flag of truce. On their landing, a large party of soldiers commanded by an officer who spoke English, appeared suddenly, and advanced in a threatening manner. The officers then pointed to the flag of truce, and claimed its protection, and also endeavoured to explain the reason of their landing, but of no avail. A volley of musketry was immediately fired at them, which killed them, and also some or all of the Russian prisoners; volleys were then fired into the boat, by which all were struck down, and the assailants then rushed into the boat and threw most of the bodies overboard, and then removed the arms and ammunition which were stowed underneath.

"Neither before nor during this indiscriminate slaughter was any resistance made, nor hostile intention shown, by the boat's crew with the flag of truce—the muskets that were in the boat not having been loaded, and being in the

bottom of the boat; and therefore there appeared to be nothing to justify this barbarous infringement of the usages of war.

"I therefore opened fire with both ships upon the place, at about 600 yards distance; but it was not returned, either with rifles or artillery; and a thick fog having come on shortly afterwards, I ceased firing, and withdrew the ships, the position which they were in not being one in which they could with safety remain at anchor.

"I inclose herewith the names of the officers and men who have met their deaths on this occasion. I have, &c.,

(Signed) E. G. FANSHAWE.

"Rear-Admiral Hon. R. S. Dundas, C.B., &c.

"List of officers and cutter's crew who were killed at Hango on the 5th June, 1835:—Louis Geneste, lieutenant; R. T. Easton, surgeon; Charles Sullivan, master's assistant; Edward Thompson, leading seaman; Benjamin Smith, able seaman; James Cornwall, ordinary seaman; John Gliddon, able seaman; George Boyle, ordinary seaman; William Roskelly, ordinary seaman; Thomas Stokes, ordinary seaman, 2nd class; John Haughey, stoker; Francis George, ordinary seaman; Owen Francis, able seaman; William Lynn, captain's steward; William Banks, gun-room steward; John Lorton, subordinate officer's steward.

(Signed) "E. G. FANSHAWE, Captain."

Subsequent accounts were received at the Admiralty, from which it appeared that several of the boat's crew of the *Cossack*, who were supposed to have been killed, were alive, though prisoners. A complete list is subjoined of the killed and of the prisoners, both wounded and unwounded:—KILLED.—Thompson, coxswain of the boat; — Lynn, captain's steward; — Cornwall; Benjamin Smith, ordinary seamen; Joseph Banks. PRISONERS.—*Wounded.*—John Lorton, George Boyle, Joseph Giddon (right arm amputated), Thomas Stokes. *Unhurt.*—Lieutenant Louis Geneste, Surgeon Robert Easton, Mr. Sullivan; Owen Francis, William Roskelly, John Hockey, Francis George.

The *Journal de St. Petersburg* contained a very long reply to the letter addressed to the Russian Government by Admiral Dundas relative to the Hango

affair. The Cabinet of St. Petersburg, finding the sensation which that incident had produced, confided to General de Berg the mission of instituting a rigid examination into the circumstances of the case, and, in the report of the officer appointed to carry it on, he says:—"No flag of truce was seen flying on board the *Cossack*, nor in the boat which came towards the landing-place, nor in the hand of the officer who landed on Russian territory. This declaration has been confirmed by every one who witnessed the occurrence. While the affair was going on on shore, the sailors who remained in the boat had time to throw overboard a small swivel-gun with which the boat was armed. Among the muskets seized during the action, three were found which had been recently discharged, notwithstanding the assertion to the contrary made by Brown, the seaman. Three others were loaded with ball. The crew of the boat had on them 360 cartridges, 400 caps, and two incendiary tubes, with their matches attached. These arms, taken from the enemy, prove that the expedition of Lieutenant Geneste, even though he had ostensibly covered it by a flag of truce, could not have been simply to set at liberty some Finland seamen, and to procure fresh provisions, as stated by the lieutenant."

At noon on the 9th of June, the *Merlin*, carrying the French Admiral Penaud and several French and English Captains, proceeded to reconnoitre Cronstadt. They were attended by the *Dragon*, *Firefly*, and the corvette *D'Assas*. Going first along the north side of the island, they approached within 4000 yards of the block ships lying in the open water between Cronstadt and St. Petersburg. They consisted of four liners, five frigates, and two corvettes, moored in a line along the three-fathom bank, with their broadsides bearing upon the northern passage. Inside these, fourteen steam gun-boats lay at anchor, and under the wall of Man-of-war Harbour, anchored in three lines, were twenty-four row gun-boats. When the *Merlin* went

in so close, two of the steam gun-boats came out, and one fired a shot at her, but it fell short. In the Man-of-War Harbour were seventeen line-of-battle ships, four fully rigged, and others in progress. Between this harbour and Fort Kronslot were ten steamers of various sizes, some of them screws; and between Kronslot and Menschikoff two three-deckers moored bow to bow, with their broadsides commanding the only entrance. The island seemed full of soldiers; for, besides those quartered in the town and batteries, three large camps were formed outside—two on the north, and the other on the south side. Immense new earthworks had been erected; a complete chain of them ran from the Governor's house across the island to the old Kessel Battery, dividing it into halves—one fortified, the other without a gun upon it. Just as the *Merlin* was returning, and when going about seven knots an hour, a severe shock was felt, as if she had struck upon a sunken pile. It made the ship quiver from stem to stern. The engines were instantly stopped and reversed, but before she had stern-way upon her, another blow, ten times more severe than the first, struck her on the starboard bow, just before the paddle-wheel, sensibly lifting her over to port, and making her masts bend and shake as if they would topple down. The *Firefly* was immediately in the *Merlin's* wake, and before she could stop, she ran to starboard of the *Merlin*, and partly turned round, when a tremendous explosion took place under her bows, causing her to stagger, and proving very plainly that they were over a nest of Professor Jacobi's infernal machines—the existence of which was now beyond a doubt—and so that they were not such very formidable affairs after all. They then proceeded carefully until they got into deep water, without meeting any more, and then reconnoitred the south side, getting so near the shore as to witness a sort of review of the Russian Horse Artillery, and afterwards returned to the fleet. A diver was immediately sent down to examine the *Firefly*, and not the slightest in-

jury could be detected; but inside the ship almost every bit of crockery was broken, and the bulkheads were thrown down or displaced. On examining the *Merlin*, eight sheets of copper were blown, not scraped, off, and the side appeared charred. All the inside fitting in the engineers' bath-room, mess-room, and store-room, were completely demolished. An iron tank, which was bolted to the ship's side, and containing 13 cwt. of tallow, was knocked a distance of four feet. Shot were shaken out of the racks, and almost everything moveable in the ship was displaced.

On the 21st of June the *Amphion*, 36, screw-frigate, Captain Key, while employed in reconnoitring at Sveaborg, accidentally mistook the channel, and in consequence grounded. The boats were immediately despatched in all directions to sound, and, while so employed, one of the nearest forts opened a brisk fire upon the frigate. Four shot struck her, killing one man and wounding two others. Captain Key, however, nothing daunted, returned the compliment with such energy and precision, that he succeeded in blowing up a large Russian powder magazine, and occasioned other serious damage to the fort.

On the 21st of June a small squadron, under the command of Captain Yelverton, succeeded in blowing up the fort at Rotzinshalm, and destroying the barracks, capable of containing 5000 men, at Kotha, also the stables, storehouses, and hospital. And, on the 28th, Captain Vansittart destroyed 30 large galliots laden with blocks of granite, at Werolax Bay. Captain Yelverton also, on the 5th of July, destroyed Fort Svartholm, with the barracks and stores at Lovisa. In the latter part of June, Captain Storey destroyed 90 Russian vessels, amounting to upwards of 20,000 tons.

On the 17th of July the Commander-in-Chief, accompanied by Admiral Penaud, Admiral Seymour, and Commodore the Hon. F. F. Pelham, proceeded in the *Merlin* to reconnoitre Sveaborg and Helsing-

fors; they were also attended by two gun-boats and a French steamer. When about 3000 yards from the batteries, several infernal machines were exploded by means of galvanic wires connecting them with the shore; but they seem more useless than those which explode by being struck, for it is next to an impossibility for any one on shore to ascertain, by taking angles or any other means, when a ship is so exactly over one of the machines that the explosion would damage her; this was proved by the experience of the 16th, for none exploded nearer than fifty or seventy yards of the ships. To be effective the machine should touch the ship's bottom, for if it exploded with two feet distance between, the shock would be diffused over such a large surface as to be harmless. Two line-of-battle ships had been sunk in the western channel. The *Amphion* saw them go down. One heeled over as she sank, and remained on her side; the other had her bulwarks just above the water. Only two ships and a few small vessels could be seen in the harbour, but the crest of every hill and small island bristled with cannon. No less than seventy new batteries and earth-works had been erected since 1854. Having satisfied themselves, the Admirals returned to the fleet.

On the 20th of July, a successful attack was made on a Russian fleet at Frederickshaum, situate on the western coast of the Gulf of Finland, midway between Wiborg and Helsingfors. Captain Yelverton commanded the expedition, which consisted of four vessels. The enemy returned the fire of the ships for an hour and a half, and then were compelled to abandon the place, all the guns being disabled, and the fort itself being terribly shattered. The enemy suffered severely, many were seen carted away dead or wounded. A mounted officer was seen to fall from his horse, a shell having cut him in two. The town was set on fire in several places by stray rockets.

It being arranged by the Allied Admirals that possession should be taken of the Island of Kotka, Cap-

tain Yelverton, with a considerable squadron, proceeded thither, and, landing the marines, took possession of the Island, without opposition. A very large number of buildings for military purposes were then destroyed; also a vast quantity of property of a miscellaneous description.

The cruisers visited Uleaborg, Simo, and Windau, and destroyed Russian ships and stores.

The next operation in the Baltic, worthy of note, was the BOMBARDMENT OF SVEABORG.

On the 7th of August the English fleet sailed for the fortress. At 9.30 a.m. signal was made from the flag-staff, "Outward and leeward-most ships weigh." The fleet, consisting of nine British line-of-battle ships, thirteen steam frigates and sloops, sixteen mortar-vessels, and an equal number of gun-boats, sailed from Nargen, and after a pleasant run of five hours anchored at a distance of about 5000 yards from the fortress of Sveaborg. In the course of the same evening the French fleet joined, and immediately commenced throwing up a battery on the island of Langörn, situate some 2000 yards to the north of the cluster of five islands which form the principal part of the fortress of Sveaborg. Next day, the 8th, both fleets were busily employed preparing for action; the mortar-vessels were towed into position about 3700 yards from the fortress, with 400 fathoms each of cable to "haul and veer on," as circumstances might require. This arrangement proved of the greatest advantage, and much credit is due to the originator of it. The line-of-battle ships remained in the same order they had at first anchored in. The steamers *Magicienne*, *Vulture*, and *Euryalus* took up a position in rear of the mortar-vessels, for the purpose of being ready to give them and the gun-boats any assistance they might require. The *Lightning* and *Locust* were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to tow out any gun or mortar-vessels that might be injured, or otherwise rendered incapable of remaining longer under fire; in fact, every pos-

sible arrangement having been made which prudence and foresight could suggest, the signal was made from the flag-ship at 7.15 on the morning of the 9th, "Gun and mortar-vessels open fire with shell."

At 7. 30 a.m. the first mortar was fired, and taken up along the whole line, the gun-boats running in to within 3000 yards, and getting their range. The enemy returned our fire very briskly with red-hot shot and shell; but, although their range was good, the damage inflicted was comparatively trifling, owing principally to the excellent handling of the gun-boats and mortar-vessels—the former being continually on the move, and the latter hauling or veering on their 400-fathom cable as soon as they found the Russian shot falling too close to be pleasant. At 10.30 the first Russian magazine exploded, and a fire broke out in the Arsenal. About noon a second magazine exploded; and at 12.15 a most terrific explosion took place, followed by a succession of minor ones. The force of this was so immense that a battery of guns *en barbette* was literally blown to pieces. At 12.40 more magazines exploded; at this time, the dockyards, arsenal, barracks, all the Government buildings, storehouses, &c., were burning furiously. The sight was most grandly imposing. The yards and poops of the line-of-battle ships were crowded with the excited "tars," who cheered vociferously after every explosion, as only British sailors know how to cheer. To add to this frightful din, the liners *Cornwallis* and *Hastings*, and steam-frigate *Amphion*, opened their broadsides at the same moment; and, as if to crown the whole, the *Arrogant*, *Cossack* and *Cruise*, chimed in with this tremendous chorus, by commencing a heavy fire, with good effect, on a large body of troops which they chanced to espy on a small island to the eastward of the fortress. The cannonade continued with little abatement up to eight o'clock p.m., when the gun-boat recall was hoisted. Several of the mortar-vessels were also found to be injured from the quick and in-

cessant firing, and had to be brought out to undergo repairs; those, however, which were not damaged, still kept their fire, in conjunction with the French mortar battery, until 10.30. p.m., at which hour the rocket-balls from the fleet went in and kept up their part of the performance until daylight. The scene during the night was grand beyond description: the whole of Sveaborg appeared one mass of flame, the rockets and shells adding not a little to the awful splendour of the fiery landscape.

At 5.30 a.m., on the 10th, the fire again opened from our whole line, and continued through the day, at the end of which little appeared left to be done; all the mortars, French and English, were more or less injured. Some idea, however, of the services rendered by these vessels may be gathered from the fact that during the two days' bombardment not less than 1000 tons of iron were thrown into a space of about half a mile in diameter by the English vessels alone, and that upwards of 100 tons of powder were expended.

On Friday night, the 10th Aug., the rocket-boats again went in and played with great effect. On Saturday no firing took place, and Sunday was a day of rest. On that day everything was quiet and in repose. The tolling of the bells at Helsingfors was distinctly heard: the dull and plaintive sounds, mingled with the strains of sacred music from our men-of-war, came floating over the calm waters, and offered a soothing contrast to the noise, turmoil, and excitement of the two preceding days.

At six a.m. on the 13th all the fleet got under way from off what remained of Sveaborg, and, crossing the Gulf in a rather irregular manner, anchored in Revel roads again at noon. At the time they left, the fortress, once so renowned and formidable, was still on fire, having burnt almost without interruption during the space of three days and a half.

One hundred and sixty gun-boat sheds, many with new boats in them, were totally burnt, as were also

the Government rope walk, storehouses, dockyard, barracks, main-guard, and signal station. The fire was so hot and the practice so admirable, that the three-decker moored across the entrance, after having several shot in her, was forced to haul out of her position, and take shelter behind the stone walls. The value of public property destroyed is estimated at £2,000,000.

Admiral Dundas gave a long account of the proceedings, but he did not attempt to give any account of the amount of damage inflicted on the enemy. Admiral Penaud, in a despatch to the French Minister of Marine, dated August 11, said:—

"The bombardment ceased this morning at half-past four; it consequently lasted for two days and two nights, during which time Sveaborg presented the appearance of a vast fiery furnace. The fire, which still continues its ravages, has destroyed nearly the whole place, and consumed storehouses, magazines, barracks, different Government establishments, and a great quantity of stores for the arsenal. The fire of our mortars was so accurate that the enemy, fearing that the three-decker which was moored across the channel between Sveaborg and the Island of Back-Holmer would be destroyed, had her brought into port during the night. The Russians have received a serious blow and losses, the more severe, as on the side of the Allied squadron the loss is confined to one English sailor killed, and a few slightly wounded. The enemy's forts returned our fire vigorously, and did not slacken it until the moment of the explosions above mentioned, but the precision of our long-range guns gave us an incontestable superiority over those of the Russians. Every one in the division filled his duty with ardour, devotion, and courage; the crews evinced admirable enthusiasm, and have deserved well of the Emperor and of the country. I am perfectly satisfied with the means of action placed at my disposal. The mortar-vessels and gun-boats rendered immense services, and they fully realise everything that was expected from

them. The siege battery produced very fine results, and it may be said that it was from an enemy's island, on which we had hoisted the French flag, that the most destructive shots were fired."

The English and French fleet returned to Nargen on the 13th.

The operations of the Baltic fleet after the Bombardment of Sveaborg, were not distinguished by any important exploit. Squadrons of cruisers continued to destroy Russian vessels and stores wherever they could discover and come up with them.

In returning to events in the Crimea, there was nothing occurred of moment after the evacuation of the south side of Sebastopol, for several weeks. In the month of November, Sir James Simpson, on account of his shattered state of health, resigned the command of the British army, and General Codrington was appointed to succeed General Simpson as commander of the British forces in the Crimea. The despatches transmitted to government from time to time by General Codrington, were chiefly relating to the state of the army, and occasionally noticing the discharges of guns from the north side of Sebastopol against the Allied positions; but these sallies of the Russians did little or no harm.

Frequently reconnoitring parties went out, and occasionally encountered Cossack pickets, when some sharp skirmishing ensued; but invariably the Russian troopers were worsted.

Many were the speculations indulged in by those who were not so fortunate as to be able to penetrate into the future, as to what would be the next move, and where would be the scene of further operations. It was currently reported time after time that the Russians were about to evacuate the north side of Sebastopol, and retire into the interior; but still they remained there, until winter came on. We will therefore leave them there, on the north side, with a determined foe con-

fronting them on the south side; and proceed to notice the operations connected with the Turkish army in Asia.

In October, 1854, it was known that the Russian forces in the trans-Caucasian provinces were more than adequate to drive back those of Turkey, then in Armenia; and the result of the campaign in that year was, to place the Russians in possession of points in advance of their own territory, and within the Turkish frontier, and to shut the disorganised forces of Turkey within the fortresses of an interior or secondary line of her Armenian frontier. To remedy this state of things, a few British and Hungarian officers were sent to remodel the Turkish forces, and no other tangible assistance appears to have been given to this front of the grand campaign against Russia. All these officers nobly did their duty; but one especially, General Williams, displayed military talents and courage that won the admiration of every one.

General Mouravieff, with an imposing Russian force of from 35,000 to 40,000 men, and a formidable train of artillery, surrounded Kars, and completely invested it. The whole Turkish force at Kars did not exceed 10,000; but they had been so organised by their heroic leader, that they were a band of resolute and valiant men, determined to struggle with their foes to the death. Many brilliant sallies did these Ottoman troops make against their Muscovite enemies, whenever they spied a favourable opportunity. The brave General Kmety would select a chosen few, and rush out of the invested city, upon an unsuspecting party of Russians, and cut them to pieces.

At the close of August, Omar Pasha proceeded with 15,000 troops from Varna on his way to Batoum. The Generalissimo, no doubt, was anxious to afford relief to the brave defenders of Kars, but he had so many obstacles to contend with, that he was unable to reach that devoted city, in time to be of service.

On the 3rd of September, a party of horse, chiefly

Bashi-Bazouks, left Kars, and were intercepted by a large force of Russian cavalry, and, after sustaining the conflict manfully for some time, they were overpowered, and made prisoners. The Russian General Mouravieff, in the *Invalide Russe*, boasted of this as a signal victory; but, ere the month closed, his troops had to suffer a defeat as humiliating as ever an army had to endure. We proceed to give a sketch of this brilliant affair, from the pen of a *private correspondent* to one of the English journals.

"On the 29th September, about 3.30 a.m. the Russians were seen advancing up the Shorak valley in dense masses, but in what order could not then, on account of the darkness, be ascertained. Our troops were in a moment under arms, and at their posts. General Kmety, with one battalion of infantry and seven companies of chasseurs, was stationed in Sheshanegee Tabia; Major Teesdale, with one battalion of infantry, in Yuskek Tabia; and Hussein Pasha, with the Arabistan Corps, in Tahmasb Tabia, where he was soon joined by Kerim Pasha, the second in command of the army. Bashi-bazouks were also dispersed throughout the different works, and the Laz held a small work called Yarem Ai Tabia. General Kmety was the first to open fire with round-shot on the advancing battalions of the enemy; he was immediately answered by two guns placed in position on a height forming the north-west boundary of the Shorak valley. In a few minutes the whole visible force of the Russians charged up the hill with loud cries; they were received with a terrific fire of grape and musketry, which mowed down whole ranks at every volley. General Kmety's position was attacked by eight battalions of the enemy; they advanced very gallantly to within five paces of the work, when so heavy a fire was opened on the head of the column that the whole corps wavered, halted, then turned, and fled down the hill in the greatest confusion, leaving 850 dead. They did not renew the attack there.

"Tahmasb Tabia bore the brunt of the battle; about sixteen battalions, with many guns, were brought up against it, but its garrison was undaunted, and for a long time the Russians could not even get possession of the breast-work forming the left wing of that battery; but at length an overwhelming force obliged the Turks to retire within the redoubt. A scene of carnage now ensued perfectly terrible to behold. As the Russians came over the brow of the hill within the breastwork, to take the battery in rear, Tchim and Tek Tabias and Fort Lake opened on them with 24-pound shot, which tore through their ranks, but they did not heed this. They charged Tahmasb Tabia, which was one sheet of fire, over and over again, and so resolute were their assaults that many of the Russian officers were killed in the battery, but they could not succeed in carrying it.

"General Kmety, after having repulsed the Russians, went forward with four companies of chasseurs to Yuksek Tabia, which was sorely pressed. Major Teesdale pointed out a battalion of Russian chasseurs which lay hidden behind Yarem Ai Tabia (this work having been abandoned by the Laz at the commencement of the battle,) and begged that they might be dislodged. The General at once determined to carry the battery; so, forming up his men, he charged and drove the Russians down the hill; leaving a company to defend the work, he returned to Yusek Tabia, from whence perceiving a battalion of the enemy trying to turn the right wing of Tahmasb Tabia, he reinforced his corps with three companies from Major Teesdale, and charged the Russians: here, too, he was successful. In the mean time reforcements were sent up from below; these formed behind the tents of the reserve, and watched their opportunity in attacking the Russian columns, when driven back from an assault on the batteries. For seven hours this went on; reserve after reserve of the enemy was brought forward, but only to meet death. Nothing could shake

the firmness of our troops, till at length the Russians, wearied and dispirited, at eleven a.m. turned and fled down the hills in a confused mass, not one single company keeping its ranks. The army was followed in its flight by the towns-people and Bashi-bazouks, who brought down hundreds as they fled. While the infantry were engaged in this conflict, the Cossacks tried to penetrate into the tents of the reserve, but they were soon driven back by the towns-people and infantry reserves with heavy loss.

"One battalion of Russian infantry attempted to march round the position, and take a small battery situated in a commanding position on the road leading to a village called Tchakmak. It commenced its march in splendid order, but ere it went 600 yards, it was broken and in great disorder, and so terrified, that fifty or sixty of our chasseurs drove the broken mass down the Tchakmak valley like a flock of sheep. The cause of the terror was the terrible fire opened upon it by Yuksek Tabia, the guns of Sheshaneges Tabia and Fort Lake.

"A column of eight battalions, with sixteen guns and three regiments of cavalry, attacked the English lines at half-past five a.m. This line of fortification was at the time very weakly garrisoned; the breastwork was carried in a few minutes; the batteries Teesdale, Thompson, and Zohrab, successively fell into the enemy's hands, and the men who formed their garrisons retired into Williams Pasha Tabia. The Russians then brought up their artillery into position in front of Zohrab Tabia, and began firing upon Fort Lake and shelling the town, but Fort Lake (under the able superintendence of the gallant officer whose name it bears), Arab Tabia, and Karadagh, opened so heavy a fire on them with 24-pounders, that they were compelled to withdraw their artillery altogether. The Russian infantry then charged Williams Pasha Tabia, but were repulsed by a flanking fire from Fort Lake, and a severe fire of musketry from the defenders of the battery attacked.

They retired into Zohrab Tabia, re-formed and again assaulted; a body of their chasseurs was at the same time sent forward to within 500 yards of Fort Lake, to take a small open work called Churchill Tabia, which was doing the enemy without much harm. This was occupied by two companies of our chasseurs: they turned to receive the attack of the enemy; and, after retiring a short distance, halted, and kept the Russians at bay. While this was going on, Capt. Thompson, who had charge of the batteries of Karadagh and Arab Tabia, sent over the 5th Regiment of Infantry from Arab Tabia to retake the English tabias of Teesdale and Thompson, and from below two battalions of the 2nd Regiment came up to recapture Zohrab Tabia. The forces commenced the attack together from each end of the line, and drove the Russians out of the forts and breastworks at the point of the bayonet. Once out of the lines, they did not attempt to retake them. Unfortunately the enemy had time, while in possession of the batteries, to take away five guns, and to spike three, but they abandoned three of the captured guns at a short distance from the redoubts, so that we only lost two. As the enemy retreated, our long guns again played on their columns, and they retired as speedily as possible.

"Some cavalry attempted to engage the battery above the village of Tchakmak, but again the terrible guns of Fort Lake drove them off. By 10.30 a.m. the English tabias were silent.

"Such was the dreadful battle of 'the heights of Kars.' This is but a very lame account of the glorious fight. I have not the time to enter into greater details, but I will give an idea of what our men did and had to endure. The forces of the enemy exceeded 30,000, while ours, engaged, were below 8000. Not one of our men had tasted anything since the previous afternoon; hungry and thirsty, they remained undaunted, and were rewarded with perhaps the most brilliant victory that has been gained during this war.

"The field of battle was too horrible ever to be forgotten by me; the dead lay in vast heaps in every direction around the forts—the ditches were full of mutilated bodies—the tents were torn to rags—arms, clothes, broken ammunition-boxes, lay strewed about. Upwards of 6000 Russians fell, and more than 4000 muskets have been collected, 150 prisoners taken. The total loss to the enemy in killed and wounded must have been very near, if not more than, 15,000. Several Generals were killed or wounded: amongst the former, reports say, General Breumer, the second in command; and General Baklanoff, who commanded the attack on Canly Tabia on the 7th of August. Thousands of carts have been sent to Gumri (Alexandropoli) with wounded.

"Our list of casualties is but small, about 1000 in killed and wounded. Dr. Sandwith, the Inspector of Hospitals, had made his arrangements, and, thanks to his abilities, the hospitals are in good order.

"For this great victory Turkey has to thank General Williams; during the past four months his exertions to get things into order have been astonishing; night and day he has laboured. He has had many and great obstacles to overcome, but nothing could break his energy. On the memorable 29th he directed the movements of the troops; the reinforcements always reached their appointed positions in time. The great results of the day prove how well his operations were conceived.

"The loss inflicted on the enemy fully shows how well the positions of the redoubts were chosen by Colonel Lake. All the batteries flanked each other, and the Russians were unable to bring up guns to command any of our positions. The troops kiss the batteries, and say that the Miralai Bey (Colonel) was "Chok akilli" (very wise) when he made them work.

"Captain Thompson aided greatly in recapturing the English lines. He directed by order the guns of

Arab Tabia and Karadagh, and sent the troops over to attack the Russians.

"Major Teesdale was in the hottest fire, and acted with great coolness and bravery. He is the admiration of the Turks. He showed them how English officers behave in battle.

"All the Turkish officers did their duty nobly. Kerim Pasha was slightly wounded, and had two horses killed under him; Hussein Pasha was hit; two Colonels, and many other officers, were killed."

The *Invalide Russe* published a nominal list of the officers killed and wounded at Kars. The list was as follows:—1 General (General Kovalevski), 4 Colonels, 2 Lieutenant-Colonels, 6 Majors, 14 Captains, 18 Lieutenants, 15 Subalterns, and 17 Ensigns, making a total of 76 officers killed. The list of wounded comprises—3 Generals (viz., Generals Prince Gagarine, Maidel, and Bronefskiy), 5 Colonels, 3 Lieutenant-Colonels, 14 Majors, 30 Captains, 35 Lieutenants, 39 Subalterns, and 47 Ensigns; making a total of 176. The killed and wounded together thus number no less than 252 officers.

Nothing of importance occurred during the month of October; but, at the beginning of November, Omar Pasha, with an army of about 7000, attempted the passage of the Ingour. The Russians, to the number of 10,000, disputed the passage, when a short but bloody battle ensued, which ended in the utter defeat of the Russians, leaving from 300 to 400 dead and a very great number wounded. The Russians retreated towards Kutais. The loss of the Turks amounted to about 100 killed, and 300 wounded. The English officers in the Turkish army displayed great courage; three of whom had their horses shot under them.

It is now our painful task to record the CAPITULATION OF KARS.

The year 1855 advanced, and with it the season for action, when the Russians were found in better order than before, and headed by one of their best native

generals, invading Turkey in Asia, obtaining their own supplies, to a great extent, by forays on all the open country, and inclosing the Turkish forces in their lair at Kars, while other Turkish forces in Erzeroum either could not or would not venture out to the relief of their brethren. After the season best fitted for active operations had passed away, Omar Pasha, fretted by idly parading for months with his troops at Eupatoria or Baider, was allowed to enter the Asiatic field, and made, when too late, and with too small a force, a diversion upon the right flank of the Russians. This movement, however ably planned, both in itself as connected with the Caucasian tribes, and in its bearings on the communications of the main Russian army, seems to have been based on a miscalculation of the condition of the garrison of Kars, and was made too late in the season, and at too great a distance from the Russian base, to produce any effect in relief of the main Turkish force; and Kars, hanging on the events of a few days, eventually fell by famine.

The following were the conditions of the Capitulation:—

Art. 1. Stipulates for the surrender of the fortress and all the *materiel* of war intact; guns not to be spiked, and stores and arms to be delivered up in the state they were at the time of signing the act of surrender. It then goes on to provide for the manner in which possession of the foregoing is to be given up to the Russians.

Art. 2. Refers to the surrender of the garrison, as prisoners of war, and provides, "as a testimonial of the valorous resistance made by the garrison of Kars," that the officers of all ranks are to keep their swords. The different positions to be taken up by the Turkish troops is then indicated; and the Mushir Commander-in-Chief is required to present a muster-roll of the garrison, which is to be called over by delegates of the Russian army. This article further provides for certain portions of the troops being permitted to return

to their homes, and specifies the route they are to take, their order of march, &c. The Turkish military authorities on their part engage to leave behind a sufficient number of medical officers and nurses to attend to the sick in the hospitals.

Art. 3. provides for the security of the private property of members of the army of all ranks.

Art. 4. and 5 refer to the militia regiments and non-combatants, who are to be privileged to return to their several homes.

Art. 6, which evidently refers to the Hungarians and other foreigners who had enlisted in the Turkish army, is as follows:—"To General Williams is reserved the right of designating his choice in a list, which must be previously submitted to the approval of General Mouravieff, of a certain number of persons, to whom permission will be given to return to their homes. Military men, subjects of one of the belligerent Powers, are excluded from this list."

We give the remaining articles *in extenso*:—

"Art. 7. All persons indicated in Articles 4, 5, and 6, engage themselves by their word of honour not to bear arms against his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias during the whole duration of the present war.

"Art. 8. The inhabitants of the town throw themselves upon the generosity of the Russian Government, which takes them under its protection.

"Immediately the troops have given up their arms, the inhabitants of the town are to send a deputation, consisting of the principal inhabitants of the place, to give the keys to the Russian Commander-in-Chief, and to trust themselves unreservedly to the generosity of the august Sovereign of Russia.

"Art. 9. The public monuments and buildings of the town belonging to the Government are to be respected and left intact.

"It being the principle of the Russian Government to respect the customs and traditions of the people

subjected to its government, and especially the buildings devoted to worship, it will not allow any damage to be done to the religious monuments or historical souvenirs of Kars."

The act of surrender, which bears date Nov. 18 (25), is signed by General Williams on the side of the Turks, and by Colonel de Kauffmann on behalf of the Russians.

The following letter from Erzeroum, dated November 27, before the news of the surrender was known, will give the reader some idea of the miserable imbecility and indecision that pervaded the various classes of Turkish officials:—

"Couriers from Kars follow each other in rapid succession, imploring succour in men and provisions. Meanwhile, Selim Pasha has appealed to the surrounding districts for volunteers, and makes preparation for marching in person in the direction of Kars. As long ago as the 9th and 10th, he assigned 1,000 men of the regular troops to take charge of the heaviest guns, and his best horses to be used in the transport of stores. Nevertheless, I regret to say that all preparations are made with a degree of slowness that is intolerable, and utterly incompatible with the critical situation of the brave and devoted garrison of Kars. Moreover, the mountains are already covered with snow, which threatens to descend to the level of the plains, so as to render any movement of the army difficult and perilous. The Pessimists among us go about saying that there is no longer a possibility of relieving Kars, and that, by this time, the garrison, hemmed in by the enemy's cavalry, and pressed by famine, must either have capitulated, or resolved to attempt to cut their way, sword in hand, through the investing army. But if Selim Pasha is sufficiently active, there is room for hope that Mouravieff may find it necessary to retreat to Alexandropol, to avoid finding himself placed between two fires—the advancing succours and the garrison which might make a sortie.

"The Russian detachment at Déli Baba and Uch Kliss remains in position. A few days ago, Mehemet Bey (nephew of Behlut Pasha, a prisoner with the Russians, who commands the Turkish outposts,) had an affair with the enemy, of whom some score were killed and eight taken prisoners, who are expected to arrive here to-day. Mehemet Bey was himself wounded, but not seriously.

"Nov. 28.—Yesterday evening Generals Kmety (Ismael Pasha) and Coleman (Feigi Pasha) arrived here from Kars, which they left three days before. They report that on the 22nd, General Williams had received despatches from this place to the effect that he need expect no succours on our part, inasmuch as the Mushir, Selim Pasha, could not be moved to send them, and that he must look upon himself as abandoned to his own resources. Next day, (the 23rd) the General called a council of all the Turkish officers, over which Mushir Vassif Pasha presided, and represented to them the condition of Kars, and the contents of the despatches he had received, submitting to them the following questions:—Did they believe that the garrison was able to hold out longer? Did they believe that enough of provisions remained to support them for a little longer? Did they believe it possible to meet the enemy in the field? The whole of the Pashas placed themselves unreservedly at the disposal of the English General. The same evening General Williams despatched his aide-de-camp, Major Teesdale, to General Mouravieff, to request a personal interview, with a view to agree upon terms for the surrender of Kars.

"At the same time, Generals Coleman and Kmety left Kars, with an escort of five Kurds, who pledged themselves for their safety, after having given in their resignations to our brave General, on the ground that their services there were no longer available. The account they give of the condition of Kars is the most lamentable that can be imagined. For more than a week the women and children had been dying of hunger, and had gone in their agony to the door of General Williams to implore him for food, and to lay their bodies on his threshold. The soldiers were dying at the rate one hundred a day; the hospitals were crammed with sick, the streets with corpses—all from hunger. Let us hope that General Williams may be able to mitigate the sad termination of the siege; but from what I know of the gentleman, I dread his falling a victim to his sensitive nature."

It would appear from the foregoing letter that all the enthusiasm, all the energy, all the devotedness of the region, were concentrated within Kars; outside of its forts, all—except in the Russian camp—was sheer trifling and child's play. But in Kars the garrison

were heroes to the last. When General Williams—after receiving intelligence from Erzeroum that it was in vain to hope for relief from the Mushir—assembled the Turkish field officers, to obtain their opinion as to the possibility or expediency of prolonged resistance, these brave men, with true Turkish *sang-froid*, placed their fate implicitly in his hands. Had he said the word, they, with all their soldiers, would have died to a man at their guns, or in the field, fighting hand to hand with the enemy. A strong conviction that to save the place was impossible, and commiseration for the wretched inhabitants, determined the General to surrender. And thus, after six months of heroic endurance, enhanced by repeated displays of desperate valour, the survivors of the garrison of Kars became captives of the Muscovite.

The state to which the town and garrison of Kars were reduced before the capitulation was agreed on, appears to have been painful in the extreme. One account states that 100 men a day were dying of hunger and privations, and that on the 24th an English officer gave 26s. for a rat! The little meat that remained of the slaughtered beasts of burden was reserved for the hospitals, in which the Russians found 6,000 sick and wounded. On the 27th the enemy sent a large convoy of provisions into the town. Sentries were placed in all the streets for the protection of the inhabitants. According to all the accounts received, the Russians appear to have behaved well and even generously. Surgeons, medicines, and other requisites were immediately supplied to the Turkish hospitals. The number of guns taken in Kars is 250, of which 60 were field artillery.

Dr. Sandwith was set at liberty, and retired to Erzeroum; Mr. Churchill, secretary, and Zorah, the interpreter, were also set at liberty; but they preferred to remain with General Williams, and accompany him to Tiflis. Dr. Sandwith has since arrived in England, and has been welcomed by his countrymen with great eclat.

We have now brought the narrative down to the close nearly of 1855; the severity of the season, and other causes, producing a lull in the din of war. The despatches received from time to time by the British government, as well as the letters sent to the English journals by their several Correspondents, spoke in animating terms of the great improvement in the condition of the British army. Indeed, it was declared by our Allies, that the English troops at the close of the year, were as fine a body of men as any nation could produce. The Allied troops, at the end of 1855, and the beginning of 1856, were engaged in demolishing the docks at Sebastopol, which work was successfully accomplished. In the month of December, Austria, which had all along been indefatigable in its endeavours to bring the contending powers to an agreement, submitted to the Western Powers a fresh proposal, to the terms of which, after some deliberation, the governments of the Allies agreed. This document was immediately despatched to Russia, for acceptance or rejection; and, in the middle of January, 1856, an answer was received, stating that Russia accepted unconditionally the terms proposed, as a basis for bringing about peace. This intelligence was received with joy by many; with doubt by some; and with disapprobation by others. Paris was ultimately chosen as the place where the Conference was to be held; and it was arranged that each of the contracting powers should be represented by two Plenipotentiaries. At the commencement of the Conference, Prussia was not admitted to take part in the deliberations; but towards the close, two Plenipotentiaries were permitted to take part in the discussions on European matters. The first meeting of the Plenipotentiaries took place on the 3rd of March, and the Conference was brought to a close within a day or two of the end of the month. Full particulars are given of the Treaty of peace, Conventions, and Protocols, in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XIII.

Official Text of the Treaty of Peace—The Conventions—The Protocols—Conclusion.

(TRANSLATION.)

General Treaty between Her Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan.

(Signed at Paris, March 30, 1856. Ratifications exchanged at Paris, April 27.)

In the Name of Almighty God!

Their majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, the Emperor of All the Russias, the King of Prussia, the King of Sardinia, and the Emperor of the Ottomans, animated by the desire of putting an end to the calamities of war, and wishing to prevent the return of the complications which occasioned it, resolved to come to an understanding with his Majesty the Emperor of Austria as to the bases on which peace may be re-established and consolidated, by securing, through effectual and reciprocal guarantees, the independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire.

For these purposes their said Majesties named as their plenipotentiaries, that is to say,—

(Here follow the names of the plenipotentiaries, with all their titles, orders &c.; but we simply subjoin the names).

Great Britain...William Frederick, Earl of Clarendon.
Henry Richard Charles, Baron Cowley.

Austria.....Charles Ferdinand, Count of Buol-Schauenstein.
Joseph Alexander, Baron de Hubner.

France.....Alexander, Count Colonna Walewski.
Francis Adolphus, Baron de Bourqueney.

Russia.....Alexis, Count Orloff.
Philip, Baron de Brunnow.

SARDINIA .....CAMILLE PENSO, Count of Cavour.
SALVATOR, Marquis de Villa Marina.
TURKEY.....MEHAMMED EMIR AALI, Pacha.
MEHAMMED DJEMIL, Bey.

Plenipotentiaries subsequently invited:—

PRUSSIA.....OTHO THEODORE, Baron de Manteuffel.
MAXIMILIAN FREDERIC CHARLES FRANCIS, Count of Hadefeldt.

The Plenipotentiaries, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I.—From the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, there shall be a peace and friendship between her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his Majesty the Emperor of the French, his Majesty the King of Sardinia, his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, on the one part, and his Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, on the other part, as well as between their heirs and successors, their respective dominions and subjects in perpetuity.

II.—Peace being happily re-established between their said Majesties, the territories conquered or occupied by their armies during the war shall be reciprocally evacuated. Special arrangements shall regulate the mode of evacuation, which shall be as prompt as possible.

III.—His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias engages to restore to His Majesty the Sultan the town and citadel of Kars, as well as the other parts of the Ottoman territory of which the Russian troops are in possession.

IV.—Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan, engage to restore to His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias the towns and ports of Sebastopol, Balaklava, Kamiesch, Eupatoria, Kertch, Yenekale, Kinburn, as well as all other territories occupied by the Allied troops.

V.—Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of all the Russias, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan, grant a full and entire amnesty to those of their subjects who may have been compromised by any participation whatsoever in the events of the war in favour of the cause of the enemy. It is expressly understood that such amnesty shall extend to the subjects of each of the belligerent parties who may have continued during the war to be employed in the service of one of the other belligerents.

VI.—Prisoners of war shall be immediately given up on either side.

VII.—Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, His Majesty the Emperor of the French, His Majesty the King of Prussia, His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, and His Majesty the King of Sardinia, declare the Sublime Porte admitted to participate in the advantages of the public law and system *(concert)* of Europe. Their Majesties engage, each on his part, to respect the independence and the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire; guarantee in common the strict observance of that engagement; and will, in consequence, consider any acts tending to its violation as a question of general interest.

VIII.—If there should arise between the Sublime Porte and one or more of the other signing powers, any misunderstanding which might endanger the maintenance of their relations, the Sublime Porte and each of such powers, before having recourse to the use of force, shall afford the other contracting parties the opportunity of preventing such an extremity by means of their mediation.

IX.—His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, having, in his constant solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, issued a firman which, while ameliorating their condition without distinction of religion or of race, records his generous intentions towards the Christian population of his empire, and wishing to give a further proof of his sentiments in that respect, has resolved to communicate to the contracting parties the said firman, emanating spontaneously from his sovereign will.—The contracting powers recognise the high value of this communication. It is clearly understood that it cannot, in any case, give to the said Powers the right to interfere, either collectively or separately, in the relations of his Majesty the Sultan with his subjects, or in the internal administration of his empire.

X.—The Convention of the 13th of July, 1841, which maintains the ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire relative to the closing of the Straits of the Bosphorus and of the Dardanelles, has been revised by common consent.—The Act concluded for that purpose, and in conformity with that principle, between the high contracting parties, is and remains annexed to the present treaty, and shall have the same force and validity as if it formed an integral part thereof.

XI.—The Black Sea is neutralised; its waters and its

ports thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation' are formally and in perpetuity interdicted to the flag of war, either of the Powers possessing its coasts or any other Power, with the exceptions mentioned in articles 14 and 19 of the present treaty.

XII.—Free from any impediment, the commerce in the ports and waters of the Black Sea shall be subject only to regulations of health, customs, and police, framed in a spirit favourable to the development of commercial transactions. —In order to afford to the commercial and maritime interests of every nation the security which is desired, Russia and the Sublime Porte will admit consuls into their ports situated upon the coast of the Black Sea, in conformity with the principles of international law.

XIII.—The Black Sea being neutralised according to the terms of Article XI. the maintenance or establishment upon its coast of military-maritime arsenals becomes alike unnecessary and purposeless. In consequence, his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and his Imperial Majesty the Sultan engage not to establish or to maintain upon that coast any military-maritime arsenal.

XIV.—Their Majesties the Emperor of all the Russias and the Sultan having concluded a convention for the purpose of settling the force and the number of light vessels necessary for the service of their coasts, which they reserve to themselves to maintain in the Black Sea, that convention is annexed to the present treaty, and shall have the same force and validity as if it had formed an integral part thereof. It cannot be either annulled or modified without the assent of the Powers signing the present treaty.

XV.—The act of the Congress of Vienna having established the principles intended to regulate the navigation of rivers which separate or traverse different States, the contracting Powers stipulate among themselves that those principles shall in future be equally applied to the Danube and its mouths. They declare that this arrangement henceforth forms a part of the public law of Europe, and take it under their guarantee. The navigation of the Danube cannot be subjected to any impediment or charge not expressly provided for by the stipulations contained in the following articles. In consequence, there shall not be levied any toll founded solely upon the fact of the navigation of the river, nor any duty upon the goods which may be on board of vessels. The regulations of police and of quarantine to be established for the safety of the States separated or traversed

by that river, shall be so framed as to facilitate, as much as possible, the passage of vessels. With the exception of such regulations, no obstacle whatever shall be opposed to free navigation.

XVI.—With a view to carry out the arrangements of the preceding article, a commission, in which Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey shall each be represented by one delegate, shall be charged to designate and cause to be executed the works necessary below Isatcha, to clear the mouths of the Danube, as well as the neighbouring parts of the sea, from the sands and other impediments which obstruct them, in order to put that part of the river, and the said parts of the sea, in the best possible state for navigation. In order to cover the expenses of such works, as well as the establishments intended to secure and to facilitate the navigation at the mouths of the Danube, fixed duties, of a suitable rate, settled by the Commission by a majority of votes, may be levied, on the express condition that in this respect as in every other, the flags of all nations shall be treated on the footing of perfect equality.

XVII.—A commission shall be established, and shall be composed of delegates of Austria, Bavaria, the Sublime Porte, and Wurtemberg, (one from each of those Powers,) to whom shall be added Commissioners from the three Danubian Principalities, whose nomination shall have been approved by the Porte. This Commission, which shall be permanent:—1. Shall prepare regulations of navigation and river police.—2. Shall remove impediments, of whatever nature they may be, which still prevent the application to the Danube of the arrangements of the treaty of Vienna.—3. Shall order and cause to be executed the necessary works throughout the whole course of the river.—And 4. Shall, after the dissolution of the European commission, see to maintaining the mouths of the Danube, and the neighbouring parts of the sea, in a navigable state.

XVIII.—It is understood that the European Commission shall have completed its task, and that the river commission shall have finished the works described in the preceding article, under Nos. 1 and 2, within the period of two years. The signing powers assembled in conference, having been informed of that fact, shall, after having placed it on record, pronounce the dissolution of the European Commission, and from that time the permanent river commission shall enjoy the same powers as those with which the European Commission shall have until then been invested.

XIX.—In order to insure the execution of the regulations which shall have been established by common agreement, in conformity with the principles above declared, each of the contracting Powers shall have the right to station, at all times, two light vessels at the mouths of the Danube.

XX.—In exchange for the towns, ports, territories, enumerated in Article 4 of the present treaty, and in order more fully to secure the freedom of the navigation of the Danube, his Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias consents to the rectification of his frontier in Bessarabia. The new frontier shall begin from the Black Sea one kilometre to the east of Lake Bourna-Sola, shall run perpendicularly to the Akerman road, shall follow that road to the Val de Trajan, pass to the south of Belgrade, ascend the course of the river Yalpuck to the heights of Saratzika, and terminate at Katamori on the Pruth. Above that point the old frontier between the two empires shall not undergo any modification. Delegates of the contracting Powers shall fix, in its details, the line of the new frontier.

XXI.—The territory ceded by Russia shall be annexed to the Principality of Moldavia, under the suzerainty of the Sublime Porte. The inhabitants of this territory shall enjoy the rights and privileges secured to the Principalities, and during the space of three years they shall not be permitted to transfer their domicile elsewhere, disposing freely of their property.

XXII.—The Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia shall continue to enjoy, under the suzerainty of the Porte, and under the guarantee of the contracting Powers, the privileges and immunities of which they are in possession. No exclusive protection shall be exercised over them by any of the guaranteeing Powers. There shall be no separate right of interference in their internal affairs.

XXIII.—The Sublime Porte engages to preserve to the said Principalities an independent and national administration, as well as full liberty of worship, of legislation, of commerce, and of navigation. The laws and statutes at present in force shall be revised. In order to establish a complete agreement in regard to such a revision, a special commission, as to the composition of which the high contracting powers will come to an understanding among themselves, shall assemble without delay at Bucharest, together with a commissioner of the Sublime Porte. The business of this commission shall be to investigate the present state of the Principalities, and to propose bases for their future organization.

XXIV.—His Majesty the Sultan promises to convoke immediately in each of the two provinces, a divan *ad hoc*, composed in such a manner as to represent most closely the interests of all classes of society. These divans shall be called upon to express the wishes of the people in regard to the definitive organisation of the Principalities. An instruction from the Congress shall regulate the relations between the Commission and these divans.

XXV.—Taking into consideration the opinion expressed by the two divans, the commission shall transmit without delay to the present seat of the Conferences the result of its own labours. The final agreement with the Suzerain Power shall be recorded in a convention to be concluded at Paris between the high contracting parties; and a hatti sheriff, in conformity with the stipulations of the convention, shall constitute definitely the organisation of these provinces—placed thenceforward under the collective guarantee of all the signing Powers.

XXVI.—It is agreed that there shall be in the Principalities a national armed force organised with the view to maintain the security of the interior, and to insure that of the frontiers. No impediment shall be opposed to the extraordinary measures of defence which, by agreement with the Sublime Porte, they may be called upon to take, in order to repel any external aggression.

XXVII.—If the internal tranquillity of the Principalities should be menaced or compromised, the Sublime Porte shall come to an understanding with the other contracting Powers in regard to the measures to be taken for maintaining or re-establishing legal order. No armed intervention can take place without previous agreement between those Powers.

XXVIII.—The Principality of Servia shall continue to hold of the Sublime Porte, in conformity with the Imperial Hatts which fix and determine its rights and immunities placed henceforward under collective guarantee of the contracting Powers. In consequence the said Principality shall preserve its independent and national administration as well as full liberty of worship, of legislation, of commerce, and of navigation.

XXIX.—The right of garrison of the Sublime Porte, as stipulated by anterior regulations, is maintained. No armed intervention can take place in Servia without previous agreement between the high contracting Powers.

XXX.—His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and His Majesty the Sultan maintain in its integrity the state

of their possessions in Asia, such as it legally existed before the rupture. In order to prevent all local dispute the line of frontier shall be verified, and, if necessary, rectified, without any prejudice, as regards territory, being sustained by either party. For this purpose, a mixed Commission, composed of two Russian Commissioners, two Ottoman Commissioners, one English Commissioner, one French Commissioner, shall be sent to the spot immediately after the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the Court of Russia and the Sublime Porte. Its labours shall be completed within the period of eight months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

XXXI.—The territories occupied during the war by the troops of their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, and the King of Sardinia, according to the terms of the convention signed at Constantinople, on the 12th of March, 1854, between Great Britain, France, and the Sublime Porte: on the 14th of June of the same year between Austria and the Sublime Porte; and on 15th of March, 1855, between Sardinia and the Sublime Porte, shall be evacuated as soon as possible after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. The periods and the means of execution shall form the object of an arrangement between the Sublime Porte and the Powers whose troops have occupied its territory.

XXXII.—Until the treaties or conventions which existed before the war between the belligerent Powers have been either renewed or replaced by new acts, commerce of importation or of exportation shall take place reciprocally on the footing of the regulations in force before the war; and in all other matters their subjects shall be respectively treated upon the footing of the most favoured nation.

XXXIII.—The convention concluded this day between their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, on the one part, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias on the other part, respecting the Aland Isles, is and remains annexed to the present treaty, and shall have the same force and validity as if it formed a part thereof.

XXXIV.—The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Paris in the space of four weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 30th day of the month of March, in the year 1856.

CLARENDON.	C. M. D'HATZFELDT.
COWLEY.	ORLOFF.
BUOL-SCHAUENSTEIN.	BRUNNOW.
HUBNER.	C. CAVOUR.
A. WALEWSKI.	DE VILLA MARINA.
BOURQUENEY.	AALI.
MANTEUFFEL.	MEHEMMED DJEMIL.

An additional article of the same date provides for the temporary use of the Straits of the Dardanelles for the purpose of removing troops, &c.

CONVENTIONS ANNEXED TO THE PRECEDING TREATY.

I.—*Convention between Her Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Sardinia, on the one part, and the Sultan on the other part, respecting the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus.*

(Signed at Paris, March 30, 1856. Ratifications exchanged at Paris, April 27, 1856.)

In the Name of Almighty God!

Art. 1 His Majesty the Sultan, on the one part, declares that he is firmly resolved to maintain for the future the principle invariably established as the ancient rule of his empire, and in virtue of which it has at all times been prohibited for the ships of war of foreign powers to enter the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus, and that, so long as the Porte is at peace, his Majesty will admit no foreign ship of war into the said Straits. And their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of All the Russias, and the King of Sardinia, on the other part, engage to respect this determination of the Sultan, and to conform themselves to the principle above declared.

2. The Sultan reserves to himself, as in past times, to deliver firmans of passage for light vessels under flag of war, which shall be employed as is usual in the service of the missions of foreign powers.

3. The same exception applies to the light vessels under flag of war, which each of the contracting powers is authorised to station at the mouths of the Danube, in order to secure the execution of the regulations relative to the liberty of that river, and the number of which is not to exceed two for each power.

4. The present convention, annexed to the general treaty signed at Paris this day, shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of four weeks, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 30th day of the month of March, in the year 1856.

Clarendon.	G. M. D'Kalergis.
Cowley.	Orlopf.
Buol-Schauenstein.	Brunnow.
Hubner.	C. Cavour.
A. Walewski.	De Villa Marina.
Bourqueney.	Aali.
Manteuffel.	Mehemmed Djemil.

II.—*Convention between the Emperor of Russia and the Sultan, Limiting their Naval Force in the Black Sea.* (Signed at Paris, March 30. Ratifications exchanged at Paris, April 27, 1856.)

In the Name of Almighty God!

Art. 1. The high contracting parties mutually engage not to have in the Black Sea any other vessels of war than those of which the number, the force, and the dimensions are herein-after stipulated.

2. The high contracting parties reserve to themselves each to maintain in that sea six steam vessels of fifty metres in length at the line of flotation, of a tonnage of 800 tons at the maximum, and four light steam or sailing vessels of a tonnage which shall not exceed 200 tons each.

3. The present convention, annexed to the general treaty signed at Paris this day, shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of four weeks, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 18th day of the month of March, in the year 1856.

Orlopf.	Aali.
Brunnow.	Mehemmed Djemil.

III.—*Convention between Her Majesty, the Emperor of the French, and the Emperor of Russia, respecting the Aland Islands.*

(Signed at Paris, March 30, 1856.—Ratifications exchanged at Paris, April 27, 1856.)

In the name of Almighty God!

Art. 1. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, in order to respond to the desire which has been expressed to him by their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Emperor of the French, declares that the Aland Islands shall not be fortified, and that no military or naval establishment shall be maintained or created there.

2. The present convention, annexed to the general treaty signed at Paris this day, shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of four weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris the 30th day of the month of March, in the year 1856.

CLARENDON	BOURQUENEY.
COWLEY.	ORLOFF.
A. WALEWSKI.	BRUNNOW.

DECLARATION RESPECTING MARITIME LAW.

Signed by the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey, assembled in Congress at Paris, April 16, 1856:—

[Translation.]

The Plenipotentiaries who signed the treaty of Paris, of the 30th of March, 1856, assembled in conference,—Considering that maritime law, in time of war, has long been the subject of deplorable disputes; that the uncertainty of the law and of the duties of such a matter gives rise to differences of opinion between neutrals and belligerents which may occasion serious difficulties, and even conflicts; that it is consequently advantageous to establish a uniform doctrine on so important a point; that the Plenipotentiaries assembled in congress at Paris cannot better respond to the intentions by which their governments are animated than by seeking to introduce into international relations fixed principles in this respect; the above-mentioned Plenipotentiaries, being duly authorized, resolved to concert among themselves as to the means of attaining this object; and, having come to an agreement, have adopted the following solemn declaration:—

1. Privateering is, and remains, abolished.

2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.

3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under an enemy's flag.

4. Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective —that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.

The Governments of the undersigned Plenipotentiaries engage to bring the present declaration to the knowledge of the States which have not taken part in the Congress of Paris, and to invite them to accede to it.

Convinced that the maxims which they now proclaim cannot but be received with gratitude by the whole world, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries doubt not that the efforts of their Governments to obtain the general adoption thereof will be crowned with full success.

The present declaration is not and shall not be binding, except between those Powers who have acceded, or shall accede, to it.

Done at Paris, the 16th of April, 1856.

Buol-Schauenstein.	Hatzfeldt.
Hubner.	Orloff.
Walewski.	Brunnow.
Bourqueney.	Cavour.
Clarendon.	De Villa Marina.
Cowley.	Aali.
Manteuffel.	Mehemed Djemil.

THE PROTOCOLS OF THE CONFERENCES.

These official records of the proceedings are of enormous length, occupying between twelve and thirteen ordinary newspaper columns. A brief abridgment will, however, in most cases, convey all that is interesting to the reader. But what has been done to the arsenals of Nicolaieff, and other places, and the important conversation which took place respecting the state of Italy and other European countries, we give in full:

Protocol No. 1, Feb. 25.—The first meeting took place on the 25th of February, at the Hotel of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Paris. All the Plenipotentiaries were present. Count Buol proposed that Count Walewski should be president (a course not only sanctioned by precedent, but an "act of homage to the sovereign whose hospitality they were at that time enjoying.") This proposition was unanimously adopted. Count Walewski made a short speech, advising a conciliatory spirit. M. Benedetti

was appointed to draw up the protocols, and was then introduced. The protocol containing the Austrian propositions was adopted and signed as containing preliminaries of peace. An armistice was then concluded, and the meeting separated.

PROTOCOL No. 2, Feb. 26.—It was mutually announced that orders had been given to suspend hostilities. The first point of interest was the objection of Baron Brunnow to the word "Protectorate" (in the Austrian proposition) as describing the relations of Russia with the Principalities. Count Buol remarked that the protectorate existed in fact, if the word itself was not in the diplomatic stipulations with Turkey; that the term used was in effect that of "guarantee," but that it was important to find a form of expression calculated to show clearly that an end would be put to this exclusive guarantee. Aali Pasha remarked that the word "protectorate" *was* employed in diplomatic documents, and specifically in the Organic Statute of the Principalities. After this discussion, the Plenipotentiaries agreed that the question of the administration of the Principalities and the navigation of the Danube should be referred to a commission. In the course of this day's debate, Count Orloff remarked that Prussia should be invited to take part in the negociation until the principal clauses of the General Treaty should be settled. On the point relative to the Christians in Turkey being alluded to, Count Orloff asked what were the intentions of Turkey with regard to it, stating that he thought the subject should appear in the general treaty. Aali Pasha stated that a new hattisherif has renewed the religious privileges granted to the non-Mussulman subjects of the Porte, and prescribed new reforms.

PROTOCOL No. 3, March 1.—This sitting was devoted to the settlement of the 5th point. Count Walewski demanded in the name of the Allies that there should be no naval or military establishment on the Aland Islands. Count Orloff agreed to the demand. Count Walewski then demanded that the state of Territories to the east of the Black Sea should be specially inquired into. After a short conversation, in which all agreed as to the utility of verifying the Asiatic boundaries of Russia and Turkey, it was agreed that a mixed commission should be sent to the spot. The question of rebuilding the Russian forts on the east coast of the Black Sea was mentioned, but nothing definite was decided. Count Walewski demanded that Kars should be restored. Count Orloff, after a few remarks, claiming

credit for Russian concessions on the fifth point, as related to the restitution.

PROTOCOL No. 4, MARCH 4.—The mixed commission to "verify, and if necessary to rectify," the Asiatic frontier, was nominated. The Conference then came to the "neutralisation of the Black Sea," and here we follow the words of the official documents. "The first Plenipotentiary of Great Britain states that Russia possesses at Nicolaieff an arsenal of the first class for maritime works, the maintenance of which would be in contradiction to the principles on which the paragraph of which the congress has just settled the terms is founded. The arsenal not being situated on the shores of the Black Sea. Lord Clarendon does not mean to assert that Russia is bound to destroy the ship-building yards which exist there, but he remarks that public opinion would be authorized in attributing to Russia intentions which she cannot entertain, if Nicolaieff were to retain, as a centre for all maritime works, the importance which it has acquired.—The first Plenipotentiary of Russia replies that the Emperor, his august master, on acceding with sincerity to the propositions of peace, firmly resolved strictly to carry out all the engagements resulting from them; but that Nicolaieff, being situated far from the shore of the Black Sea, respect for her dignity would not permit Russia to allow a principle solely applicable to the coast to be extended to the interior of the empire; that the security of and watching over the coasts required, moreover, that Russia should have, as had been admitted, a certain number of light vessels in the Black Sea, and that if she consented to give up the ship-building yards of Nicolaieff she would be compelled to establish others in some other point of her southern possessions; that, in order at once to provide for his arrangement of the naval service, the Emperor intends only to authorise the construction at Nicolaieff of the vessels of war mentioned in the bases of the negotiation. —The first Plenipotentiary of Great Britain, and, after him, the other Plenipotentiaries, consider this declaration satisfactory.—The Earl of Clarendon inquires of the Plenipotentiary of Russia whether he agrees to the insertion of this declaration in the protocol. After having replied in the affirmative, Count Orloff adds that, in order to prove the sincerity of his intentions, the Emperor has instructed him to demand a free passage through the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles for the two ships of the line which alone are now at Nicolaieff, and which would have to proceed to the Baltic as soon as peace was con-

cluded."—The authorisation of the residence of foreign consuls in the Black Sea ports, and the convention given above, were then determined upon.

PROTOCOL No. 5, MARCH 6.—"The first Plenipotentiary of Great Britain (we again follow the official words) inquires of the Plenipotentiaries of Russia whether the declaration made by Count Orloff in the preceding sitting, on the subject of Nicolaieff, applies equally to Cherson and to the Sea of Azoff." "The first Plenipotentiary of Russia replies that, like Nicolaieff, the Sea of Azoff cannot be included under the direct application of the principle accepted by Russia; that, on the other hand, it is indubitable that large vessels cannot navigate that sea; he abides, however, by the assurance to which the Earl of Clarendon has referred, and he repeats that Russia being desirous of acting wholly in conformity with the engagements which she has contracted, *will not build, anywhere on the shores of the Black Sea, or in its tributaries, or in the waters which are dependent on it, any ships of war other than those which Russia will maintain in the Black Sea, according to the terms of her convention with Turkey.*" The rest of the sitting was devoted to discussions as to the commissions to be appointed to regulate the navigation of the Danube.

PROTOCOL No. 6, MARCH 8.—The question discussed is the rectification of the Bessarabian frontier between Russia and Turkey. Baron Brunnow reads a memorandum tending to prove that the character of the localities, and the direction of the roads of communication, do not admit of a direct line being drawn between the two extreme points indicated in the preliminaries of peace. He proposed another line to start from Waduli-Tsaki on the Pruth, follow the *Val de Trajan*, and terminate on the north of Lake Yalput. Russia would abandon the Islands of Delta, and raze the forts of Ismail and Kilia-nova. This proposition is combatted by the representatives of Austria, France, and Great Britain, as opposed to the spirit of the Austrian proposition. After a discussion, it is proposed to the Plenipotentiaries of Russia to settle the frontier by a line which, starting from the Pruth between Leova and Hush, would pass to the north of Lake Salayk, and terminate above Lake Albedies. The Russian Plenipotentiaries ask time to consider this proposition. The Congress then discuss the question of the government of the Principalities. Count Walewski advocates the union of the Principalities. The first Plenipotentiary of Great Britain shares in and supports this opinion, relying especially on the utility and ex-

pediency of taking into serious consideration the wishes of the people, which it is always right, he adds, to take into account. The first Plenipotentiary of Turkey contests it. Aali Pasha maintains that the state of things to which it is proposed to put an end cannot be attributed to the separation of the two provinces; that some individuals, influenced by personal considerations, have propounded an opinion adverse to the existing state of things, but such certainly is not the opinion of the people. Count Buol, although not authorised to discuss a question which is not provided for in his instructions, agrees with the first Plenipotentiary of Turkey, that nothing could justify the union of the two Provinces; the people, he adds, have not been consulted. A discussion ensues, in which Count Cavour and Count Orloff express themselves in accord with Great Britain and France as to the union of the Principalities. A declaration is finally made by Aali Pasha that the Plenipotentiaries of Turkey are not authorised to pursue the discussion on this basis, and the Plenipotentiaries of Austria being themselves without instructions, the question is adjourned.

PROTOCOL No. 7, MARCH 10.—The frontier line in Bessarabia is again discussed. It is finally decided that the frontier shall start from the Black Sea, one kilometre to the east of Lake Bourna Sola, shall run perpendicularly to the Akerman road, follow this road as far as the *Val de Trajan*, pass to the south of Belgrade, ascend the Yalpuck river to the heights of Saratsika, and terminate at Katamori on the Pruth. A commission composed of engineers and surveyors, shall be charged with fixing in its details the line of the new frontier. Count Walewski then proposes that Prussia be invited to the Congress. The Congress assents. Lord Clarendon expresses his confidence that the Russian government will respect the graves of the Allied soldiers in the Crimea. Count Orloff readily states that measures will be taken to realise the wishes of the Allied Powers.

PROTOCOL No. 8, MARCH 13.—In mentioning that Russia and Turkey had concluded a convention as to the light vessels each should have in the Black Sea, Count Orloff remarked that Russia was anxious that each should have, in addition, some vessels of small tonnage for the execution of the administrative and sanitary regulations of the ports. After a short discussion, Russia gives up this point. A conversation on the free navigation of the Danube concluded this sitting.

PROTOCOL No. 9, MARCH 14.—The question of the com-

position of the commission to regulate the government of the Principalities is discussed.

PROTOCOL No. 10, MARCH 18.—Several paragraphs of the treaty are read and agreed to. (Second sitting). The Plenipotentiaries of Prussia are introduced.

PROTOCOL No. 12, MARCH 22.—A committee is appointed to draw up the preamble of the treaty.

PROTOCOL No. 13, MARCH 24.—The articles recognising the recent hatti-sheriff of the Sultan are discussed.

PROTOCOL No. 14, MARCH 25.—Baron Brunnow proposes an alteration in the words recognising the hatti-sheriff. His version differs from that finally adopted by the use of the term "pledge" applied to the Turkish document. After a short conversation, the Russian plenipotentiaries withdraw their proposition. A conversation then ensues on the commercial relations of Turkey with the other Powers. After a lengthened discussion, the Plenipotentiaries unanimously recognise the necessity of revising the stipulations which regulate the commercial relations of the Porte with the other Powers, as well as the position of foreigners resident in Turkey; and they decide upon reporting in the protocol their wish that a deliberation should be opened at Constantinople, after the conclusion of peace, between the Porte and the representatives of the other contracting Powers, with the view of obtaining the two-fold object in such a way as to afford entire satisfaction to all legitimate interests. In reply to some remarks by Count Buol, on Montenegro, the Russian Plenipotentiaries state that their Government has no other relations with Montenegro than such as spring from the sympathies of the Montenegrins for Russia, and from the friendly dispositions of Russia towards those mountaineers.

PROTOCOL No. 15, MARCH 26.—Several paragraphs of the treaty up to 14 are read and adopted.

PROTOCOL No. 16, MARCH 27.—The articles up to article 30 are read and adopted.

PROTOCOL No. 17, MARCH 28.—The remaining articles are read and adopted.

PROTOCOL No. 18, MARCH 29.—The drafts of the treaty and the conventions are read and adopted.

PROTOCOL No. 19, MARCH 30.—The armistice is prolonged. Lord Clarendon proposes that the Plenipotentaries should proceed to the Tuileries to inform the Emperor of the result of their negotiations. The Congress adopts the proposition.

PROTOCOL No. 20, APRIL 2.—France and England declare that the blockade will be immediately raised.

PROTOCOL No. 21, APRIL 4.—The Plenipotentiaries of Russia announce that they are authorised to state that the prohibitive measures, adopted during the war for closing the Russian ports to commerce of exportation, are about to be revoked. In consequence of this declaration, and in conformity with the resolution which it adopted at its preceding sitting, the Congress determines that an armistice by sea is concluded between France, Great Britain, Sardinia, and Turkey, on the one part, and Russia on the other, and that prizes made subsequently to the signature of Peace shall be restored. It is consequently agreed that orders shall be given for the immediate raising of the existing blockades, and that the measures adopted in Russia during the war, against the export of Russian produce, and especially of grain, shall be revoked without delay.

PROTOCOL No. 22, APRIL 8.—Some miscellaneous business was transacted, including some further arrangements respecting the Danubian Principalities. The congress then adopted, subject to some modifications, instructions of which M. le Baron Bourqueney presented the project. The commission not having yet been appointed, it was agreed by the congress that these instructions should not at present be made public. Count Walewski then brought before the conference the subject of the state of Italy and other countries:—"Count Walewski says that it is desirable that the Plenipotentiaries, before they separate, should interchange their ideas on different subjects which require to be settled, and which it might be advantageous to take up in order to prevent fresh complications. Although specially assembled for settling the Eastern question, the congress, according to the first Plenipotentiary of France, might reproach itself for not having taken advantage of the circumstance which brings together the representatives of the principal Powers of Europe, to clear up certain questions, to lay down certain principles, to express intentions, in fine to make certain declarations, always and solely with a view of insuring the future tranquillity of the world, by dispelling the clouds which are still looming on the political horizon, before they become menacing. It cannot be denied, he says, that Greece is in an abnormal state. The anarchy to which that country was a prey has compelled France and England to send troops to the Piræus at a time when their armies, nevertheless, did not want occupation. The congress knows in what state Greece was; neither is it ignorant that that in which it now is is far from being satisfactory. Would it not there-

fore be advantageous that the Powers represented in the congress should manifest the wish to see the three protecting Courts take into serious consideration the deplorable situation of the kingdom which they have created, and devise means to make provision for it? Count Walewski does not doubt that the Earl of Clarendon will join with him in declaring that the two Governments await with impatience the time when they shall be at liberty to terminate an occupation to which nevertheless they are unable, without the most serious inconveniences, to put an end, so long as real modifications shall not be introduced into the state of things in Greece. The first Plenipotentiary of France then observes that the Pontifical States are equally in an abnormal state; that the necessity for not leaving the country to anarchy had decided France as well as Austria to comply with the demand of the Holy See, by causing Rome to be occupied by her troops while the Austrian troops occupied the Legations. He states that France had a twofold motive for complying without hesitation with the demand of the Holy See—as a Catholic Power and as an European Power. The title of eldest son of the Church, which is the boast of the sovereign of France, makes it a duty for the Emperor to afford aid and support to the Sovereign Pontiff; the tranquillity of the Roman States and that of the whole of Italy affects too closely the maintenance of social order in Europe, for France not to have an overbearing interest in securing it by all the means in her power. But, on the other hand, it is impossible to overlook the abnormal condition of a Power which, in order tomaintain itself, requires to be supported by foreign troops. Count Walewski does not hesitate to declare, and he trusts that Count Buol will join in the declaration, that not only is France ready to withdraw her troops, but that she earnestly desires to recall them so soon as that can can be done without inconvenience as regards the internal tranquillity of the country and the authority of the Pontifical Government, in the prosperity of which the Emperor, his august Sovereign, takes the most lively interest. The first Plenipotentiary of France represents how desirable it is for the balance of power in Europe that the Roman government should be consolidated in sufficient strength for the French and Austrian troops to be able, without inconvenience, to evacuate the Pontifical States, and he considers that a wish expressed in this sense might not be without advantage. In any

case he does not doubt that the assurances which might be given by France and Austria as to their real intentions in this respect would have a salutary influence. Following up the same order of ideas, Count Walewski asks himself if it is not to be desired that certain governments of the Italian peninsula, by well-devised acts of clemency, and by rallying to themselves minds gone astray and not perverted, should put an end to a system which is directly opposed to its object, and which, instead of reaching the enemies of public order, has the effect of weakening the governments, and of furnishing parties to popular faction. In his opinion it would render a signal service to the government of the two Sicilies, as well as to the cause of order in the Italian peninsula, to enlighten that government as to the false course in which it is engaged. He is of opinion that warnings conceived in this sense, and proceeding from the Powers represented in the Congress, would be the better received by the Neapolitan government, as that government could not doubt the motives which dictated them. The first Plenipotentiary of France then says that he must call the attention of the Congress to a subject which, although more particularly affecting France, is not the less of great interest for all the Powers of Europe. He considers it superfluous to state that there are every day printed in Belgium publications the most insulting, the most hostile against France and her government; that revolt and assassination are openly advocated in them; he remarks that quite recently Belgian newspapers have ventured to extol the society called "La Marianne," the tendencies and objects of which are known; that all these publications are so many implements of war directed against the repose and tranquillity of France by the enemies of social order, who, relying on the impunity which they find under the shelter of the Belgian legislation, retain the hope of eventually realising their culpable designs. Count Walewski declares that the intention and sole desire of the government of the empire is to maintain the best relations with Belgium; he readily adds that France has reason to be satisfied with the Belgian government, and with its efforts to mitigate a state of things which it is unable to alter, its legislation not allowing it either to restrain the excesses of the press, or to take the initiative in a reform which has become absolutely indispensable. We should regret, he says, to be obliged to make Belgium comprehend the strict necessity for modifying a legislation which does not allow its government to fulfil the first of interna-

tional duties, that of not assailing, or allowing to be assailed, the internal tranquillity of the neighbouring States. Representations addressed by the stronger to the less strong have too much the appearance of menace, and that is what we desire to avoid. But if the representatives of the great Powers of Europe, viewing in the same light with ourselves this necessity, should find it useful to express their opinion in this respect, it is more than probable that the Belgian Government, relying upon all reasonable persons in Belgium, would be able to put an end to a state of things which cannot fail, sooner or later, to give rise to difficulties, and even real dangers, which it is the interest of Belgium to avert beforehand. Count Walewski proposes to the Conference to conclude its work by a declaration which would constitute a remarkable advance in international law, and which would be received by the whole world with a sentiment of lively gratitude. The Congress of Westphalia, he adds, sanctioned liberty of conscience; the Congress of Vienna, the abolition of the slave trade and the freedom of the navigation of rivers. It would be truly worthy of the Congress of Paris to lay down the basis of an uniform maritime law in time of war as regards neutrals. The four following principles would completely effect that object:—1. The abolition of privateering; 2. The neutral flag covers enemies' goods, except contraband of war; 3. Neutral goods, except contraband of war, are not liable to capture, even under enemies' flags; 4. Blockades are not binding except in so far as they are effective. This would indeed be a glorious result, to which none of us could be indifferent.

The Earl of CLARENDON, sharing in the opinions expressed by Count Walewski, declares that, like France, England proposes to recall the troops which she was obliged to send to Greece, so soon as she shall be able to do so without inconvenience to the public tranquillity; but that it is necessary, in the first instance, to provide solid guarantee for the maintenance of a satisfactory state of things. According to him, the protecting Powers may agree among themselves upon the remedy which it is indispensable to apply to a system injurious to the country, and which has altogether departed from the object which they had proposed to themselves when establishing there an independent monarchy, for the well-being and the prosperity of the Greek people. The first Plenipotentiary of Great Britain remarks that the treaty of March 30 opens a new era; that, as the Emperor had said to the Congress on re-

ceiving it after the signature of the treaty, this era is that of peace; but, in order to be consistent, nothing should be omitted to render that peace solid and lasting: that, representing the principal Powers of Europe, the Congress would fail in its duty if, on separating, it sanction by its silence a state of things which is injurious to the political equilibrium, and which is far from securing peace from all danger in one of the most interesting countries of Europe. We have just provided, continues the Earl of Clarendon, for the evacuation of the different territories occupied by foreign armies during the war; we have just taken the solemn engagement to effect the evacuation within the shortest period; how would it be possible for us not seriously to advert to occupations which took place before the war, and to abstain from devising means for putting an end to them? The first Plenipotentiary of Great Britain does not consider it of any use to inquire as to the causes which have brought in foreign armies upon various points of Italy, but he considers that, even admitting that those causes were legitimate, it is not the less true, he says, that the result is an abnormal and irregular state of things which can be justified only by extreme necessity, and which shall come to an end as soon as that necessity is no longer imperiously felt; that nevertheless, if endeavours are not made to put an end to that necessity, it will continue to exist; that if we are content to depend upon the armed force instead of seeking to apply a remedy to the just causes of discontent, it is certain that a system little honourable for the governments, and lamentable for the people, will be perpetuated. He conceives that the administration of the Roman States presents inconveniences from whence dangers may arise which the Congress has the right to attempt to avert; that to neglect them would be to run the risk of labouring for the benefit of the revolution. The problem, which it is a matter of urgency to solve, consists, he conceives, in combining the retreat of the foreign troops with the maintenance of tranquillity, and the solution depends on the organisation of an administration which, by reviving confidence, would render the government independent of foreign support: that support never succeeding in maintaining a government to which the public sentiment is hostile, and there would result from it, in his opinion, a part which France and Austria would not wish their armies to perform. For the well-being of the Pontifical States, as also for the interest of the Pope, it would, therefore, in his opinion, be advantageous to recommend the secularism of the government, and the

organisation of an administrative system in harmony with the spirit of the age, and having for its object the happiness of the people. He admits that this reform might perhaps offer in Rome itself at the present moment certain difficulties; but he thinks that it might easily be accomplished in the Legations. The first Plenipotentiary of Great Britain observes that for the last eight years Bologna has been in a state of siege, and that the rural districts are harassed by brigands; it may be hoped, he thinks, that by establishing in this part of the Roman States an administrative and judicial system, at once secular and distinct, and by organising there a national armed force, security and confidence would rapidly be restored, and the Austrian troops might shortly withdraw without having to apprehend the return of fresh troubles; it is at least an experiment which, in his opinion, ought to be attempted, and this remedy proposed for indisputable evils ought to be submitted by the congress to the serious consideration of the Pope. As regards the Neapolitan Government, the first Plenipotentiary of Great Britain is desirous of imitating the example given him by Count Walewski, by passing over in silence acts which have obtained such grievous notoriety. He is of opinion that it must doubtless be admitted in principle that no government has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of other states, but he considers there are cases in which the exception to this rule becomes equally a right and a duty. The Neapolitan Government seems to him to have conferred this right, and to have imposed this duty upon Europe; and as the governments represented in the Congress are all equally desirous to support the monarchical principle, and to repel revolution, it is a duty to lift up the voice against a system which keeps up revolutionary ferment among the masses instead of seeking to moderate it. "We do not wish," he says, "that peace should be disturbed, and there is no peace without justice; we ought, then, to make known to the King of Naples the wish of the Congress for the amelioration of his system of government—a wish which cannot remain without effect—and require of him an amnesty in favour of the persons who have been condemned or imprisoned without trial for political offences." As regards the observations offered by Count Walewski on the excesses of the Belgian press, and the dangers which result therefrom for the adjoining countries, the Plenipotentiaries of England admit their importance; but as the representatives of a country in which a free and independent press is, so to say, one of the fundamental institutions,

they cannot associate themselves to measures of coercion against the press of another state. The first Plenipotentiary of Great Britain, while deploring the violence in which certain organs of the Belgian press indulge, does not hesitate to declare that the authors of the execrable doctrines to which Count Walewski alludes, the men who preach assassination as the means of attaining a political object are undeserving of the protection which guarantees to the press its liberty and its independence. In concluding, the Earl of Clarendon observes that, like France, England at the commencement of the war sought by every means to mitigate its effects, and that with this view she renounced, for the benefit of neutrals during the struggle which has now come to an end, principles which up to that time she had invariably maintained. He adds, that England is disposed to renounce them definitively, providing that privateering is equally abolished for ever; that privateering is nothing else than an organised and legal piracy, and that privateers are one of the greatest scourges of war; and our condition of civilisation and humanity requires that an end should be put to a system which is no longer suitable to the present day. If the whole of the Congress were to adopt the proposition of Count Walewski, it should be well understood that it would only be binding in regard to the Powers who may accede to it, and that it would not be appealed to by governments who may refuse their accession.

Count ORLOFF observes that the powers with which he is furnished having for their sole object the restoration of peace, he does not consider himself authorised to take part in a discussion which his instructions had not provided for.

Count BUOL congratulates himself on seeing the governments of France and England disposed to put an end, as speedily as possible, to the occupation of Greece. Austria, he gives the assurance, wishes most sincerely for the prosperity of that kingdom, and is equally desirous with France that all the States of Europe should enjoy, under the protection of public law, their political independence and complete prosperity. He does not doubt that one of the essential conditions of so desirable a state of things exists in the wisdom of a legislation so combined as to prevent or repress the excesses of the press which Count Walewski, with so much reason, has blamed, when speaking of a neighbouring State, and the repression of which must be considered as a European necessity. He hopes that in all the States of the Continent where the press presents the same dangers, the Governments will be able to find in

their legislation the means of restraining it within proper limits, and that they will thus be enabled to secure peace against fresh international complications. As regards the principles of maritime law which the first Plenipotentiary of France has proposed for adoption, Count Buol declares that he appreciates their spirit and bearing, but that not being authorised by his instructions to express an opinion upon a matter of such importance, he must, for the time, confine himself to announcing to the Congress that he is prepared to request the orders of his Sovereign. But here, he says, his task must end. It would be impossible for him, indeed, to discuss the internal situation of independent States, which are not represented at the Congress. The Plenipotentiaries have received no other commission than to apply themselves to the affairs of the Levant, and they have not been convened for the purpose of making known to independent Sovereigns wishes in regard to internal organisation of their States; the full powers deposited among the acts of Congress proved this. The instructions of the Austrian Plenipotentiaries, at all events, having defined the object of the mission which has been intrusted to them, they would not be at liberty to take part in a discussion which those instructions have not anticipated. For the same reasons, Count Buol conceives that he must abstain from entering into the order of ideas adverted to by the first Plenipotentiary of Great Britain, and from giving explanations upon the duration of the occupation of the Roman States by the Austrian troops, although adhering completely to the words uttered by the first Plenipotentiary of France on this subject.

Count Walewski observes that there is no question either of adopting definitive resolutions, or of entering into engagements, still less of interfering directly with the internal affairs of the governments represented or not represented at the Congress, but merely of consolidating, of completing the work of peace, by taking into serious consideration beforehand the fresh complication which might arise, either from the indefinite and unjustifiable prolongation of certain foreign occupations, or from a turbulent licentiousness, at variance with international duties.

Baron Hubner replies that the Plenipotentiaries of Austria are not authorised either to give an assurance or to express wishes; the reduction of the Austrian army in the Legations sufficiently shows, in his opinion, that the Imperial Cabinet intends to withdraw its troops as soon as such a measure shall be considered opportune.

Baron MANTEUFFEL declares that he knows enough of the intentions of the King, his august master, not to hesitate his opinion on the questions on which the Congress is engaged, although he has no instructions on the subject. The maritime principles, says the first Plenipotentiary of Prussia, which the Congress is invited to adopt, have always been professed by Prussia, who has constantly exerted herself to obtain their recognition; and he considers himself authorised to take part in the signature of any act having for its object their definitive admission into the public law of Europe. He expresses his conviction that his Sovereign would not withhold his approval from the agreement which might be established in this sense among the Plenipotentiaries. Baron Manteuffel by no means overlooks the great importance of the other questions which have been discussed, but he observes that an affair of the utmost interest for his Court and for Europe has been passed over in silence: he refers to the present situation of Neufchatel. He remarks that this principality is, perhaps, the only point in Europe, where, in contradiction to treaties and to what has formally been recognised by all the great Powers, a revolutionary power which disregards the rights of the Sovereign holds sway. Baron Manteuffel demands that this question should be included in the number of those to be inquired into. He adds that the King, his sovereign, anxiously wishes for the prosperity of the kingdom of Greece, and that he ardently desires to witness the disappearance of the causes which have produced the abnormal state of things occasioned by the presence of foreign troops; he admits, however, that it might be proper to examine into circumstances calculated to present this matter in its true light. As for the steps which it might be considered advantageous to take, in what relates to the state of affairs in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Baron Manteuffel observes that such steps might be well to ask oneself whether admonitions such as those which have been proposed would not excite in the country a spirit of opposition and revolutionary movements, instead of answering to the ideas which it had been contemplated to carry out, certainly with a benevolent intention. He does not deem it proper to enter upon an examination of the actual situation of the Pontifical States. He confines himself to expressing the desire that it may be possible to place the government in a condition which would henceforth render superfluous the occupation of foreign troops. Baron Manteuffel concludes by declaring that the Prussian

Cabinet fully admits the pernicious influence exercised by the press, the subversion of all regular order, and the danger which it propagates by preaching up regicide and revolt; he adds that Prussia would voluntarily take part in the inquiry into the measures which might be deemed suitable for putting an end to such practices.

Count CAVOUR does not mean to question the right of each Plenipotentiary not to take part in the discussion on a question which is not contemplated by his instructions; it is, nevertheless, he thinks, of the utmost importance that the opinion manifested by certain Powers, in regard to the occupation of the Roman States, should be recorded in the protocol. The first Plenipotentiary of Sardinia states that the occupation of the Roman States by the Austrian troops assumes every day more of a permanent character; that it has lasted seven years, and that, nevertheless, no indication appears which would lead to the supposition that it will cease at a more or less early period; that the causes which gave rise to it are still in existence; that the state of the country which they occupy is assuredly not improved; and that in order to be satisfied of this, it is enough to remark that Austria considers herself obliged to maintain, in its utmost severity, the state of siege at Bologna, although it dates from the occupation itself. He observes that the presence of the Austrian troops in the Legations and in the Duchy of Parma destroys the balance of power of Italy, and constitutes a real danger for Sardinia. The Plenipotentiaries of Sardinia, he says, deem it, therefore, a duty to point out to the attention of Europe a state of things so abnormal as that which results from the indefinite occupation of a great part of Italy by Austrian troops. As regards the question of Naples, Count Cavour shares entirely the opinions expressed by Count Walewski and the Earl of Clarendon, and he conceives that it is in the highest degree important to suggest modifications which, by appeasing passions, would render less difficult the regular progress of affairs in the other States of the peninsula.—Baron HUBNER, on his part, says that the first Plenipotentiary of Sardinia has spoken only of the Austrian occupation, and kept silence in regard to that of France; that nevertheless the two occupations took place at the same time, and with the same object; that it was impossible to admit the argument drawn by Count Cavour from the permanency of the state of the siege at Bologna, that if an exceptional state of things is still necessary in that city, while it has long since ceased at Rome and Ancona, this appears to the utmost to prove that the dispositions

of the people of Rome and Ancona are more satisfactory than those of the city of Bologna. He remarks that in Italy it is only the Roman States which are occupied by foreign troops, the communes of Menton and Requebrune forming part of the principality of Monaco, having been for the last eight years occupied by Sardinia; and that the only difference which exists between the two occupations is, that the Austrians and the French were invited by the sovereign of the country, while the Sardinian troops entered the territory of the Prince of Monaco contrary to his wishes, and maintain themselves therein notwithstanding the remonstrances of the country.

In reply to Baron Hubner, Count CAVOUR says that he is desirous that the French occupation should cease as well as the Austrian, but that he cannot help considering the one as being far more dangerous than the other for the independent States of Italy. He adds, that a small *corps d'armee* at a great distance from France, is menacing for no one; whereas it is very alarming to see Austria resting on Ferrara and on Placentia, the fortifications of which she is enlarging, contrary to the spirit, if not to the letter, of the treaties of Vienna, and extending herself along the Adriatic as far as Ancona. As for Monaco, Count Cavour declares that Sardinia is ready to withdraw the fifty men who occupy Menton, if the Prince is in a condition to return to the country without exposing himself to the most serious dangers. Besides he does not consider that Sardinia can be accused of having contributed to the overthrow of the ancient government, in order to occupy those States, since the Prince has not been able to maintain his authority in the single town of Monaco, which Sardinia occupied in 1848, in virtue of the treaties.

Baron BRUNNOW thinks it his duty to point out a particular circumstance, that the occupation of Greece by the Allied troops took place during the war, and that relations being happily re-established between the three protecting courts, the time is arrived for coming to an understanding as to the means of reverting to a situation in conformity with the common interest. He gives the assurance that the Plenipotentiaries of Russia have received with satisfaction, and will eagerly transmit to their Government, the intentions manifested in this respect by the plenipotentiaries of France and Great Britain, and that Russia, with a conservative object, and with a view to ameliorate the state of things existing in Greece, will readily join in every measure which may appear calculated to effect the purpose contemplated in the

foundation of the Hellenic kingdom. The Plenipotentiaries of Russia add, that they will take the orders of their court upon the proposal submitted to the Congress relative to the maritime law.

Count WALEWSKI congratulates himself on having induced the Plenipotentiaries to interchange their ideas on the questions which have been discussed. He had supposed that it might have been possible, perhaps with advantage, to express themselves in a more complete manner on some of the subjects which have fixed the attention of the Congress. "But such as it is," he says, "the interchange of ideas which has taken place is not without advantage." The first Plenipotentiary of France states that the result of it is, in effect:—"1. That no one has contested the necessity of seriously deliberating as to the means for improving the situation of Greece, and that the three protecting Courts have recognised the importance of coming to an understanding among themselves in this respect.—2. That the Plenipotentiaries of Austria have acceded to the wish expressed by the Plenipotentiaries of France for the evacuation of the Pontifical States by the French and Austrian troops, as soon as it can be effected without prejudice to the tranquillity of the country and to the consolidation of the authority of the Holy See.—3. That the greater part of the Plenipotentiaries have not questioned the good effect which would result from measures of clemency, opportunely adopted by the governments of the Italian Peninsula, and especially by that of the Two Sicilies.—4. That all the Plenipotentiaries, and even those who considered themselves bound to reserve the principle of the liberty of the press, have not hesitated loudly to condemn the excesses in which the Belgian newspapers indulge with impunity, by recognising the necessity of remedying the real inconveniences which result from the uncontrolled license which is so greatly abused in Belgium. 5. That finally, the reception given by all the Plenipotentiaries to the idea of closing their labours by the declaration of principles in the matter of maritime law, must give reason to hope that at the next sitting they will have received from their respective governments authority to adhere to an act which, while completing the work of the Congress of Paris, would effect an improvement worthy of our epoch."

(The signatures follow.)

PROTOCOL No. 23, APRIL 14.—The Earl of Clarendon, having demanded permission to lay before the Congress a proposition which it appears to him ought to be favourably received, states that the calamities of war are still too pre-

sense to every mind not to make it desirable to seek ou every expedient calculated to prevent their return; that stipulation had been inserted in Article 7 of the treaty o peace, recommending that in case of difference between th Porte and one or more of the other signing Powers, recours should be had to the mediation of a friendly State befor resorting to force. After a long discussion, the following de claration is inserted in the Protocols:—"The Plenipotentia ries do not hesitate to express, in the name of their govern ments, that States between which any serious misunderstand ing may arise, should before appealing to arms have re course, as far as circumstances might allow, to the good of fices of a friendly Power. The Plenipotentiaries hope tha the Governments not represented at the Congress will unit in the sentiment which has inspired the wish recorded in th present protocol."

PROTOCOL No. 24, APRIL 16.—Count Orloff proposed a vote of thanks to Count Walewski. The Earl of Clarendon seconded the proposition, which was unanimously adopted.

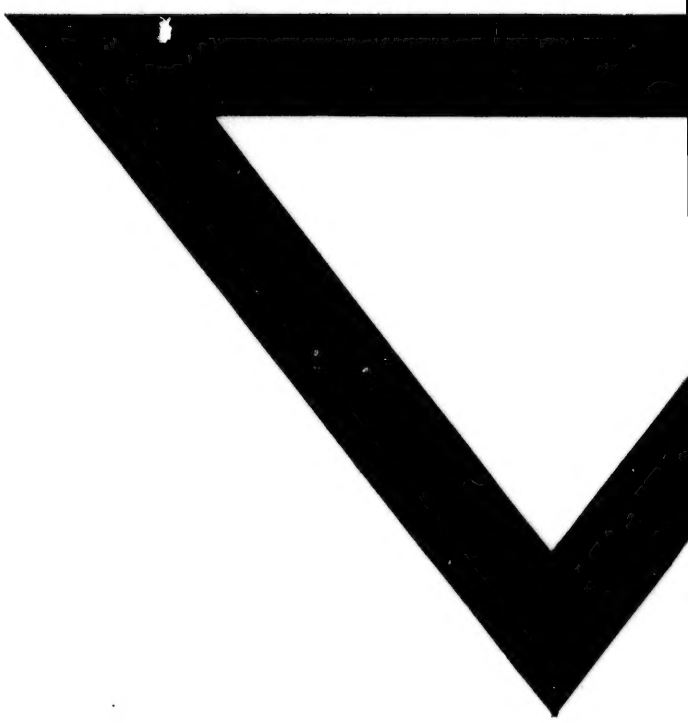
Thus was the war brought to a termination; and peace once more reigned throughout Europe. The terms of the peace, however, did not meet with the approbation of all; there were those who found fault with the lenity with which Russia had been treated, and many of the combatants both in the army and navy belonging to England were anxious to test their strength and valour another time against the Muscovite foe. Many friendly meetings took place between the contending forces during the time of the armistice and after peace was established. In the month of May, 1856, the Allied forces began to leave the Crimea, and return to their various countries. May the time be long before they are called upon to engage in a similar struggle.

THE END.

MILLER AND SOWERBY, PRINTERS, HALIFAX.

rable to seek o
ir return; that
7 of the treaty c
erence between th
g Powers, recours
ndly State befo
the following d
he Plenipotentia
ue of their govern
ous misunderstand
to arms have re
w, to the good of
entiaries hope tha
Congress will unit
wish recorded in th

Orloff proposed a
e Earl of Clarendon
animously adopted.

termination; and
ut Europe. The
ot meet with the
e who found faul
had been treated
in the army and
xious to test thei
gainst the Musco
ok place betwee
e of the armistice
In the month o
to leave the Cri
untries. May th
pon to engage i

RS, HALIFAX.